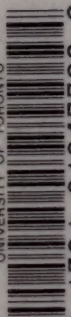
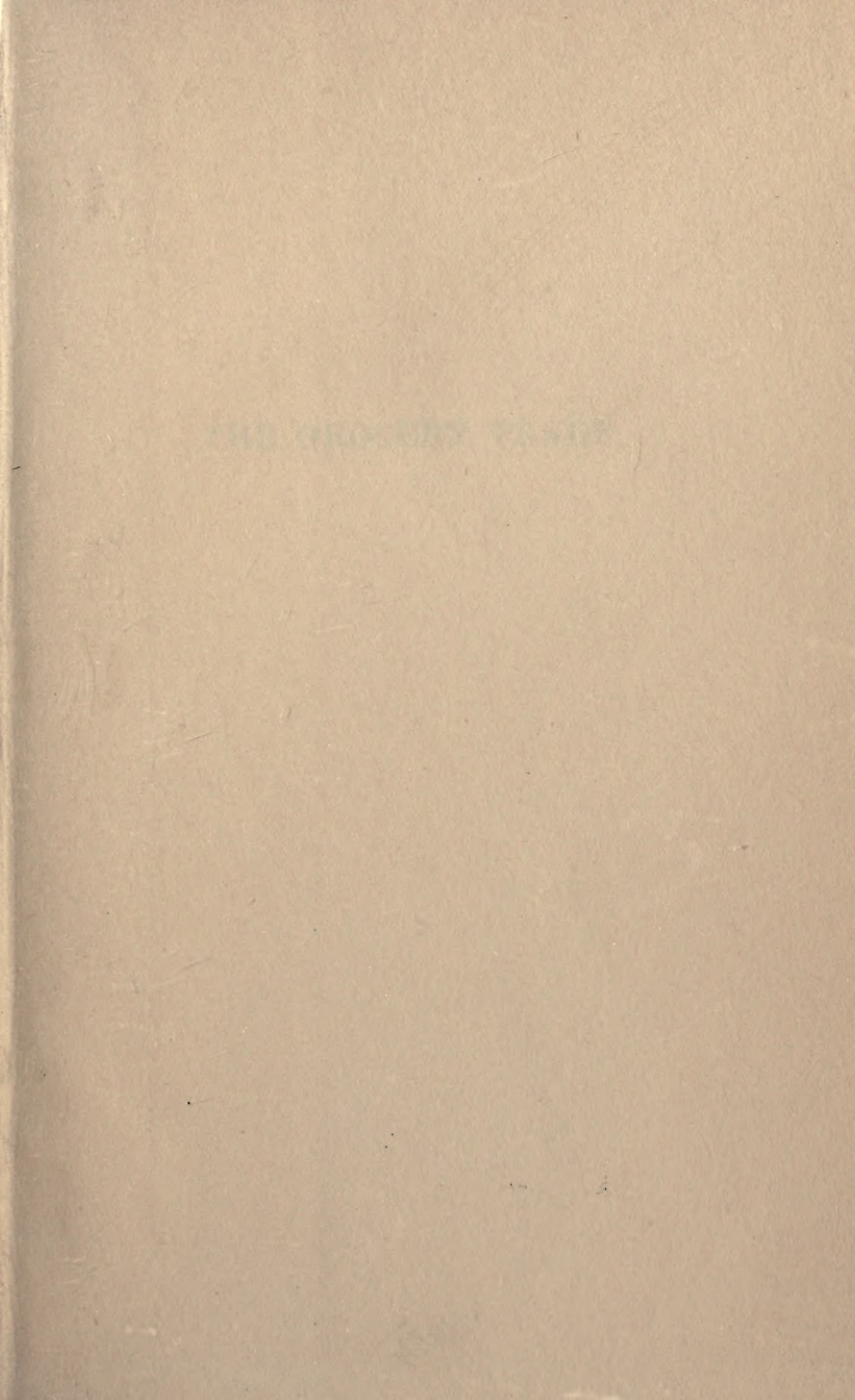


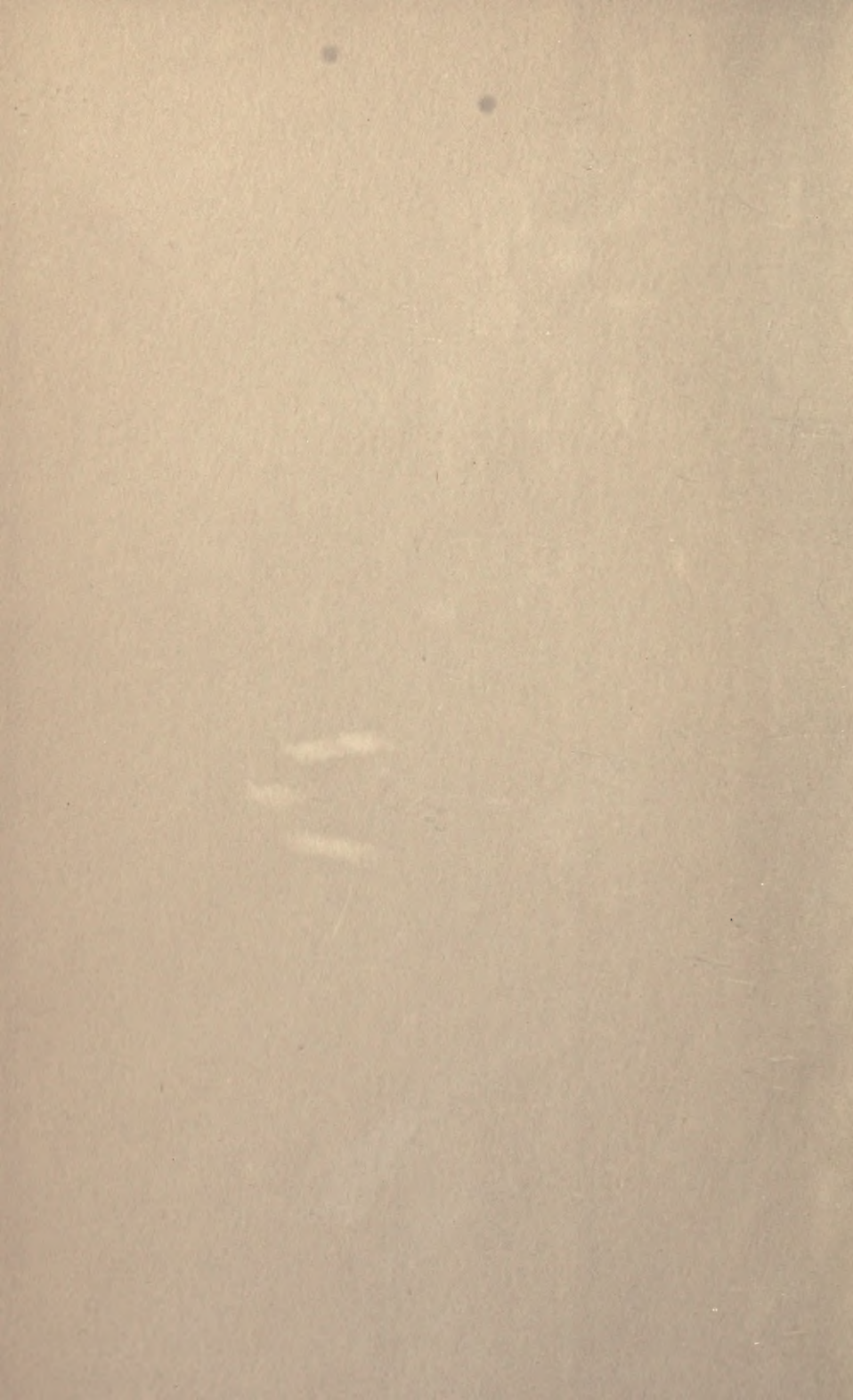
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THE GROCERY TRADE



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Grocers' Hall, London. (Interior.)

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THE GROCERY TRADE

ITS HISTORY AND ROMANCE

BY

Joseph
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EDITOR OF "THE GROCER'S ASSISTANT,"
FELLOW INSTITUTE OF CER-
TIFICATED GROCERS

VOLUME II



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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

First Appearance of Tea in England : Coffee-house of 1660 : Government Duties : An Early Advertisement of Tea : The East India Company's First Imports of Tea : The Tax revised : Varieties then in Vogue : Garway's Pamphlet : Medical Views on the Subject of Tea-drinking
Pp. 1-17

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF TEA—*continued*

Imports of Tea increasing : Early Advertisements and Prices : The *Spectator* on the Subject of Tea-drinking : Motteux's Poem on Tea : The Noted Firm of Twining : A Resort of Ladies of Fashion : A Quaint Apprenticeship Indenture : Adulteration of Tea : Legislation against : Wesley on Tea : An Amusing Anecdote
Pp. 18-30

CHAPTER III

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GROCER

Developments of the Trade : The East India Company and its Effect upon the Shop : King Charles and his Purchase of Pepper : Trade Regulations relaxed : Daniel Defoe on the Tradesmen of the Period : His Description of a Typical Grocer : A Contemporary Writer on the Grocer of the Day : Commodities sold : The Conditions of Employment : Taxation of Groceries : Interesting Items regarding Sugar
Pp. 31-52

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF TEA—*continued*

Ancestors of the Twinings : Richard Twining and the Tea-dealers' Illicit Practices : Increase of Adulteration : Noxious Forms of Adulterants used : "Smouching" : Smuggling : Pitt's "Commutation Act" : Regulation of Prices by Act of Parliament
Pp. 53-73

CONTENTS

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

Pitt's First Budget : Luxury of the Tradesmen of the Period : The Duties of Tea and Sugar revised : The Beginning of Beet-sugar : Extraordinary Fluctuation in Prices : The Grocers' Company and the Trade : Advertisements of Grocers : Manufacturers' New Channel Pp. 74-99

CHAPTER VI

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

John Howard : Richard Reynolds : Joseph Fry : Joseph Travers : William Smith, M.P. : Sir Thomas Rawlinson : Prices of Sugar : An Eighteenth-century Funeral : A Grocery Eccentric Pp. 100-123

CHAPTER VII

TRADE ORGANISATION IN THE PROVINCES

The Grocers' Companies of Norwich, Newcastle, Glasgow, and Paisley : Their Establishment, Progress, and Usefulness Pp. 124-137

CHAPTER VIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Transformation of the Grocer : Means of Transit : "Riders" : A Grocery Commercial Traveller : The London Tradesman, 1800 : The Strand : A Poet's Description : Harvey's Sauce : "The Polite Grocers of the Strand" : Ancient Grocery Firms : Samuel Budgett : The Evolution of the Manufacturer : Beginnings of Proprietary Goods : The Colmans : The Shop of the Period Pp. 138-157

CHAPTER IX

THE VICTORIAN ERA

The East India Company's Monopoly : Policy of the "Open Door" : Increase in Number of Grocers : Eastcheap and its Residents : Contemporary Portrait of a Grocer : The Cheesemonger and Oilman of 1837 : Journeyman's Wages : Apprentices : Other Traders : Blacking and its Introduction : Romance of Day and Martin : Nixey and Blacklead Pp. 158-173

CONTENTS

CHAPTER X

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

Described by a writer in 1837 : Varieties of Goods then dealt in, and where imported from : "Price-cutting" of Sugar already in vogue : Word-pictures of (a) the Commercial Traveller of the Period ; (b) a typical Grocer : Adulteration of Pepper, Spices and Tea : East India Company's Monopoly : Its Abolition : Government Measures to suppress Adulteration : Coffee and its Sophistication with Chicory : Butter and Faked Substitutes : "Epping Butter" : Nauseous Materials used in Adulteration of Butter, Pepper and Spices : Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Society : Its Formation in 1836 and subsequent extraordinary Development : Festival in 1845

Pp. 174-196

CHAPTER XI

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

Increase in Consumption of Groceries : Abolition of the Sugar Duties : The Sugar-refiners and their Opposition : The Advent of Cheap Jam and Confectionery : A Famous Soho House : "Gladstonian Grocers"

Pp. 197-219

CHAPTER XII

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND THE GROCERY TRADE

Its Early Beginnings : Failures : Renewed Life : Startling Development : Its Present Position : Interesting Comparative Statistics : The Co-operative Wholesale Societies

Pp. 220-235

CHAPTER XIII

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

The Introduction of the Trade Press, 1862 : The Era of the Branch Shop : Leverett and Frye : Lipton : His Aristocratic Shareholders : His Apprenticeship Scheme : The Home and Colonial Stores : The Grocers' Federation : The National Association of Grocers' Assistants : The First Grocer's Assistant M.P. : Other Grocery Papers

Pp. 236-269

CHAPTER XIV

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Cube-sugar : "Tate's" : Sugar Bounties : George Martineau, C.B. : The Cadburys and Bournville : Sir Wm. Hartley : W. H. Lever and Port Sunlight : Biscuit-making by Machinery

Pp. 270-295

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XV

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

Modern Advertising : An Amusing Action : The Poetical Grocers : Present-giving with Tea : Recent Tea Advertisements Pp. 296-305

CHAPTER XVI

"THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS"

Its History : Present Attitude towards the Trade : Grants to Education : Illustrious Members : Last Grocers' Pageant : Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Bart., Lord Mayor Pp. 306-319

CHAPTER XVII

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

Present-day Environment of the Grocer : Influence of Science and Invention : Census of Persons engaged in the Trade : Board of Trade Returns, showing Enormous Imports of Tea, Butter Eggs, Coffee : Some of the Merchant Princes of the Grocery and Provision Trades : Civic, National and Royal Honours earned by them : Striking Examples of Self-made Men : Huge Fortunes amassed in the Trade : Benefactions and Charitable Bequests : Formation of Grocers' Technical Education Committee : The Bowman "£500 Prize Shop" : Inception and Formation of Institute of Certificated Grocers Pp. 320-348

APPENDICES :

- I. The First Charter granted to the Grocers' Company Pp. 349 & 350
- II. Copy of Charter granted to the Grocers after the Reformation Pp. 351-353
- III. Pepperers, Grocers, and Tea-Dealers who have held the office of Lord Mayor Pp. 354-357
- IV. The Will of Laurence Sheriffe, the Grocer Founder of Rugby School Pp. 358-370
- V. A Seventeenth-Century Pageant in honour of a Grocer Lord Mayor Pp. 371-402
- VI. An Early Tea Advertisement, *circa* 1660 Pp. 403-408

AUTHORITIES

Pp. 409-412

INDEX OF PERSONS

Pp. 413-419

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Pp. 420-423

ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>To face page</i>
THE GROCERS' HALL (INTERIOR), 1909	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THOMAS TWINING, FOUNDER OF MESSRS. TWININGS	22
AN APPRENTICESHIP INDENTURE, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	25
TRADE CARDS ISSUED BY GROCERS	88
WILLIAM SMITH, M.P.	103
"BURGESS'S," A FORMER STRAND LANDMARK	121
JOSEPH CAPPER, AN ECCENTRIC GROCER	123
THE POLITE GROCERS OF THE STRAND, A.D. 1804	150
BANK NOTE ISSUED BY MESSRS. ARTHUR JONES, MOSES BRAIN, H. H. BUDGETT & Co., BRISTOL, ABOUT 1811 A.D.	154
EAST INDIA HOUSE (INTERIOR)	159

ERRATA

VOLUME I :

P. 16, line 27, *for* "treldom" *read* "Halidom"

P. 19, „ 3, *for* "sub" *read* "dub"

P. 288, „ 15 *should read* :

"the shut Gates of Eden, and the Flaming Sword"

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

THERE is no more fascinating story in the whole history of the grocery trade than that dealing with the introduction, and subsequent rise in popular favour, of tea and coffee.

It was during the time of the Commonwealth, when this country was strongly agitated by political and religious differences, that these beverages first began to appear in this country. For centuries before this, tea had been drunk and almost worshipped in China and in Japan ; its virtues had been extolled by poets and philosophers, its numerous varieties had been eagerly sought out, and even tournaments had been arranged in its honour. Yet it is but as yesterday that this beverage found its way into Europe. In 1606 the Dutch merchants imported from China a quantity of tea, giving in exchange some dried sage, a herb so much appreciated by the Chinese that they gladly bartered four pounds of tea for one pound of sage.

THE GROCERY TRADE

It was not until many years after this that tea found its way into England, its first recorded appearance being referred to in "Rugge's Diurnal," wherein it is stated that in 1658, "coffee, chocolate, and a kind of drink called 'Tee' was sold in almost every street." The first tea which arrived on these shores and was put to any commercial use was not handled by the grocer. The first parcels were doubtless bought as curiosities, they contained but small quantities and were examined with amusement. Tea was then "sipped out of minute cups of eggshell porcelain by aristocratic lips only," the infusion was tasted as one would nowadays taste some not very palatable medicine.

The gossiping diarist, Pepys, who was secretary to the Admiralty under Charles II., had his curiosity awakened by the news of the new drink which was coming into fashionable notice, and he notes in 1660 that "I did send for a cup of tea, a Chinese drink of which I had never drank before."

The honour of introducing the beverage into England was ascribed by Waller, the poet, to Princess Catherine of Portugal, whom Charles II. married in 1662, and who, it was said, had acquired a fondness for tea in her own country.

This poet composed in the queen's honour a birthday ode, wherein he referred to the new beverage as follows :

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

The best of Queens and best of herbs we owe
To that bold nation which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.
The Muses' friend, Tea, does our fancy aid ;
Repress those vapours which the head invade,
And keeps that palace of the soul serene,
Fit on her birthday to salute the Queen.

In 1660, tea shared with coffee, chocolate and sherbet the distinction of being singled out by the Government for a special duty of 8*d.* per gallon made and sold, and it is clear from this law that tea and other similar beverages then consumed were usually taken on the premises, *i.e.*, at the coffee-houses and also at public houses. Tea entered into competition with wine, ale and beer, and this led to the aforementioned tax being imposed on every "gallon" of tea, chocolate, and "sherbet," made and sold, "to be paid by the maker thereof, 8*d.*" (12 Car. II. ch. 23). To collect this tax, officers of excise were appointed to call at the coffee-houses twice a day to assess the duty. This must have been a most unsatisfactory way of levying a duty on such commodities, and much was probably left to the honesty of the coffee-house keeper ; for, of course, the beverage being consumed freshly infused and hot, could not well be kept until a revenue officer should look in to measure it. Neither does the law seem to explain how

THE GROCERY TRADE

individuals were to be charged with the 8d. per gallon on all the tea brewed in private houses. In these circumstances, it is surprising that the law remained in force for nearly thirty years, during which time the use of tea was growing and its popularity increasing with rapidity.

At the period of its introduction it was the coffee-house proprietor, and not the grocer, who sought to popularise the new beverages. The coffee-houses of the period were places of *rendez-vous*, where the man-about-town met his friends and companions and talked politics or fashion, religion or literature, according to the tincture of the particular coffee-house he attended, and as he talked, he smoked his pipe of tobacco and consumed his "dish of chocolate, tea, or coffee."

That the men who handled the new products in those days were not wanting in enterprise, is evident from the various advertisements that appeared relative thereto.

In *Kingdom's Intelligencer* in 1662 the following interesting announcement appears :

"At the coffee-house in Exchange Alley is sold by retail the right coffee powder from four shillings to six shillings and eightpence per pound, as in goodness ; that pounded in a mortar at two shillings per pound ; also that termed the East Indian Berry at eighteen pence per pound, and that termed the right

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

Turkey Berry, well garbled, at three shillings per pound. The ungarbled for lesse, with directions gratis how to make and use the same.

“ There likewise you may have chocolate, the ordinary pound boxes, at two shillings and sixpence per pound ; the perfumed from four shillings to ten shillings per pound ; also sherbets made in Turkie, of lemons, roses and violets perfumed ; and tea or Chaa according to its goodness.

“ For all of which, if any gentleman shall write or send, they shall be sure of the best ; as they shall order ; and to avoid deceit, warranted under the House Seal, viz., Morat the Great. Further, all gentlemen that are Customers and acquaintance are (the next New Year’s Day) invited at the signe of the Great Turk, at the new coffee-house in Exchange Alley, where coffee will be on free cost.”

The issuer of this advertisement also struck a token with the following inscription (see illustration, vol. i. p. 257):

“ O. Morat . Y . Great . Men . Did . Mee . Call .
R. Where . Eare . I . Came . I . Conquerd .
All = Coffee . Tobacco . Sherbet tea and
Chocolat retal’d in Exchange Ally.”

By 1667, tea had become so popularised that the English people no longer sought it only at

THE GROCERY TRADE

the coffee houses, but had begun to accustom themselves to brew it at home, and we read of Mrs. Pepys in that year making of tea, a drink which Mr. Pelling the Poticary tells her is "good for her cold and defluxions." The grocers of the period were no doubt watching the growing sale of the new article with considerable interest.

The East India Company now began to interest themselves in the new commodity, and in 1667/8 they instructed their agents "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best Tey that you can gett." Accordingly the next year, 1669, two canisters of tea arrived containing $143\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, for which an invoice was duly received. Who could have foreseen that in the year 1833, when the monopoly of importation of tea, until then held by the East India Company, ceased, the tiny rivulet represented by the seven-score pounds of tea should have grown to the volume of 31,829,620 pounds, and who would have credited that, in less than a hundred years later still, that figure would have been multiplied again by ten?

As the sequel to that first order has proved, the grocer was to obtain almost a monopoly of the sale of the three commodities, tea, coffee, and cocoa, and the saying of the historian Gardiner might well be paraphrased, for nothing has made a greater change in the life and activities of the

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

“Grocer” than the introduction of warm beverages! Tea, coffee, chocolate, but especially tea, have become the main staples of the trade. Sugar, the use of which was early associated with that of tea, as we shall see in this chapter, was also destined to grow in importance as an article of the grocer’s stock, until in these early years of the twentieth century, the grocer, the lineal descendant of the “spicer” or “pepperer” of Edward III. has, under the seventh king of that name, inherited a business transformed. No longer is pepper or spice the main article of the grocer’s stock; the universal habit of tea-drinking has placed tea in the premier and unassailed position.

The manner in which tea captured the public taste almost from the commencement, and the rapid, continuous and unchecked growth in its consumption, are unparalleled in the history of any other article of food or drink, and the fact that he obtained a practical monopoly of the sale of the dried leaf from China, and later from India, argues a no small degree of business acumen on the part of the grocer.

The original tax of 8*d.* per gallon placed on tea was eventually found to be unfair in incidence, inconvenient in practice, and expensive in collection, and so in 1689, in the first year of the reign of William and Mary, an Act of Parliament was passed rescinding the old duty and providing

THE GROCERY TRADE

also for the collecting of the substituted duties at the Custom House.

The reason for the change is set forth in the introduction as follows :

“ Whereas it hath been found by Experience that the collecting of the Duty arising to your Majesties, by virtue of several acts of Parliament, by way of Excise upon the Liquors of Coffee, Chocolate and Tea, is not only very troublesome and unequal upon the retailers of these liquors but requireth such attendance of officers as makes the neat receipt very inconsiderable, for remedy thereof be it enacted, &c.”

The subsequent clause dealt with the repeal of former Acts relating to the question and then proceeded :

“ Be it further enacted, that from and after the five and twentieth day of December, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, the Duties and Charges hereafter mentioned shall be collected and received by your Majesties' officer at the Custom House upon Coffee Berries, Tea in the leaf, and Cacao Nuts, and also upon Chocolate ready made, being the materials from which the said liquors are now extracted, brewed, or made ; and according to such proportions as are hereafter mentioned, over and besides what is now paid or payable for the said commodities at the Custom

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

House for the same : that is to say, upon every hundredweight of Coffee imported into any Ports within this Kingdom, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick on Tweed, accounting one hundred and twelve pounds to the hundred, Five pounds twelve shillings ; and upon every hundred weight of Cacao Nuts imported and containing as aforesaid, eight pounds eight shillings ; and upon every pound weight of tea imported, five shillings ; and upon every pound weight of Chocolate ready made, imported, five shillings ; and so proportionately for any greater or lesser quantity of any of the commodities aforesaid respectively."

It is fair to assume that, by this year, tea was making its way into public estimation and favour, that the quantity annually consumed was increasing, and that the grocer had commenced to include it among the articles of his stock in trade. From a pamphlet of the period I find that three kinds of tea were then regularly imported, known by the names of Bohea, Singlo and Bing respectively. Bohea is described as having a little leaf inclining to black, its liquor being of a brownish or reddish colour, to which the Chinese were said to ascribe both healing and preventive virtues. It was also said to improve by keeping.

Of Singlo there were two sorts ; according to

THE GROCERY TRADE

the place of growth, the manner of preparing it, and the nature of the tea. One sort had a long and narrow leaf: the other smaller and of a "blewish-green colour." The better variety tasted crisp when chewed and infused a pale greenness into the water.

The third sort was Bing or Imperial tea, "according to the epithet given it by the English, and by the Dutch, Keisar." "This is a large loose leaf, and therefore takes up more room proportionable to the weight of it, than any other Tea, because it is more open and springy. The finest sort of it looks both green to the eye and is crisp to the mouth, and the smell of it is very pleasant, which enhances the price of it here in England; and 'tis highly esteemed likewise in China, being sold there at three times the price of the other two. But it generally is of divers colours, as yellow, green, etc., and is reputed weak, spending itself quickly in the infusion, and only tinctures the water with any spirit twice, because it is not put in weight for weight with any other tea. This likewise, as the others, is imported in large thick totaneg canisters included in wooden tubs, or in baskets made of small bamboo canes."

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the packages wherein tea then arrived in this country, Singlo tea being brought over in round totaneg (metal) canisters pasted over with paper

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

and enclosed in a wooden tub, containing the quantity of half a pecul (about 60 to 70 lb.).

But tea was not to become part of the diet of every man, woman and child of these islands without strenuous opposition, especially from the medico of the old school, who marshalled all his apparatus of medical and philosophical terms in serried array against it. Impatient of novelty, these disciples of Galen saw in tea, not to speak of coffee and chocolate, a producer of most of the ills that flesh is heir to. Nor were the moralists more inclined to look upon the growing use of tea with favour. Tea was not without its partisans, of course, and so a wordy warfare of booklet and pamphlet went on, echoes of which have come down to us in yellow and worm-eaten pages. Tea, coffee, chocolate and tobacco were frequently joined as objects of such attacks, which often furnish entertaining reading, though occasionally couched in terms which sound coarse to modern ears.

Among the earliest pamphlets, or leaflets, which were contributed to this controversy was one issued by Thomas Garway about 1660, informing the public that he had tea to sell from sixteen to fifty shillings per pound. Another was written by the Rev. J. Ovington, M.A., Chaplain to his Majesty, from which we incidentally learn that the possibility of acclimatising the tea plant in this country was being

THE GROCERY TRADE

discussed, and incidentally also that the consumption had so grown as to make such an experiment worth trying. "Might it be convenient to have it brought hither," he writes, "there is nothing in the nature either of our ground or air that seems to contradict its increase among us," especially if sufficient care were taken for the safe and cautious transportation of the seed or branches. However, the means used for raising it had not answered expectation. "But whether this proceeds from the envy of the Chinese, who are said to boil the seed, lest it should be planted anywhere else, or from the age of it, or untimely collection of it, or the immoderate heat of the sun and variety of weathers in a long voyage, is uncertain."

A caution is appended by the reverend gentleman as to the necessity for all those who had dealings with the Chinese nicely understanding the nature of the goods, if they intended to escape the cheats and frauds of that subtle race: so early in his intercourse with Europeans had the Chinaman obtained a reputation for "ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain."

After a note on the way tea is prepared for sale, it is advised that to be preserved properly, it must be kept from all strong smells. It is lauded as a help to digestion, especially in the digestion of meat. The Tartars are said to have used raw horse-flesh as their ordinary food, which

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

they digested with as much ease as the Englishman did roast or boiled beef. In these circumstances it is not surprising that their stomachs were said sometimes to be "oppressed with and mightily weakened through indigestion." However, as a remedy they readily applied themselves to tea, which worked a complete cure! From this, the reverend chaplain concludes that liquor impregnated with its particles will soften flesh and render hard meats tender, a dictum for which, unfortunately, there is but little foundation in fact, the opposite rather being the case. Tea is also praised as a remedy for the scurvy, for giddiness, and for weakness of sight, and last but not least, "this admirable tea endeavours to reconcile men to sobriety, when their brains are overcast with the fumes of intemperance, so much so that it may be deemed an anti-Circe, counter-charming the enchanted cup, and changing the beast into a man."

The writer of the pamphlet condescends to notice the objections against the use of tea, only to dismiss them with a wave of the hand. It had been alleged that it caused "cholick and diabetes." The answer given is that these diseases were just as rife before tea made its appearance, and it had not been shown that the nations which had used tea for so long were particularly affected in such a way. Finally, of great interest to those who are studying the

THE GROCERY TRADE

history of the sugar trade, the Rev. J. Ovington incidentally reveals in his little brochure that sugar was commonly mixed with tea at this date. Hence it appears that the use of tea brought with it that of sugar—a later writer, indeed, affirming that the increasing consumption of tea was greatly encouraging the trade of the American colonies (as they were then) in one of their staple articles of production and export.

I have dealt with this rare pamphlet at some length, as there is no contemporary document which so well reveals the precise place in the public eye which tea occupied at the close of the seventeenth century.

But there was another side to the controversy, and after hearing much that had been argued in favour of the use of tea, it is well to recognise that others saw in its growing use little short of a national danger.

The controversy even entered into private correspondence. Henry Saville, in a letter to his uncle Mr. Secretary Coventry, in 1678, referred to the "habit of certain of his friends, who were wont to call for tea instead of pipes and bottles after dinner, as "a base unworthy Indian practice."

And here it must be admitted that the effect of tea on the nerves and digestive organs of our ancestors was probably much more marked than

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

it is on those of the men and women of to-day. It was a novelty to which they were quite unused. They were not the fourth or fifth generation to have accustomed themselves to a life-long daily addiction to the tea-pot. Just as a medicine to which we are accustomed needs to be taken in stronger doses to have due effect, and just as it is said we may even become gradually used to a poison, so that in time it may be no longer a poison so far as we are concerned, so we do not ordinarily experience all those wonderful effects which the first writers on tea depict, because we are used to it.

It was otherwise with the men and women of the Restoration and the early Georgian period. Indeed, the whole subject of the use and abuse of hot liquors then began to occupy the attention of members of the faculty.

In 1706, there appeared a translation from the French of Dr. Duncan of Montpelier, entitled "Wholesome Advice against the Abuse of Hot Liquors, particularly of Coffee, Chocolate, Tea, Brandy and Strong Waters." It is full of strange conceits—far-fetched analogies, and classical allusions. I quote one as an example: "The name of Phlegethon, one of the Rivers of Hell, coming from a word that signifies *to burn*, denotes that the abuse of hot liquors contributes very much to people the Kingdome of death." The argument of the book is founded on medical

THE GROCERY TRADE

theories long since exploded, but its chief interest to us lies in the testimony it affords that the doctors were giving mind, attention, and time to the study of coffee, tea, and chocolate, and their effects on the human constitution, thus proving how widespread already was their use. We read :

“ Coffee, tea and chocolate were at first used only as medicines, while they continued unpleasant, but *since they were made delicious with sugar, they are become poison.*” . . .

“ The use or abuse of those liquors is become almost universal. Towns, villages, and all sorts of people are in a manner overflowed by them, so that not to know them is reckoned barbarous. They are in all societies to be found everywhere. Formerly none but persons of qualities or state had them, but now they are common to high, and low, rich and poor.”

A few years later, a physician in another pamphlet entitled, “ An Essay on the Use and Abuse of Tea,” affirms that Lycurgus, the Spartan law-giver, had tea been introduced into that state, would soon have condemned its exorbitant use, and upon observing its first ill effects would certainly have prohibited its importation. He thinks that the present age had other considerations, tea paying too great a duty and supporting too many coaches, not to be preferred to the health of the public.

INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE

Among other ills which the physician lays at the door of tea is that it is the cause of hypochondriac disorders, it being a drug, "which has of late years very much insinuated itself as well into our diet, as regales and entertainments, tho' its operation is not less destructive to the animal economy than *opium*, or some other drug, which we have at present learned to avoid with more caution." After some sixty-three pages of arguments and warnings against the use of tea, the pamphlet concludes with an alarming story designed to frighten women into abstaining from it.

Not the least interesting of the arguments used against tea was that of the pamphleteer, who complained that tea, in common with coffee, brandy and rum, "had greatly hindered the consumption of beer," thereby rendering "the growing of barley and wheat unprofitable, to the ruin of the tenant farmers and ultimately of the landlords." Verily history has belied the words of the prophet.

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF TEA

(continued)

WHILE the battle of the critics was going on, tea was gradually gaining in popular favour. "To many men, but most women," said one writer, "this liquor of Bohea Tea is so precious that, were the drinking forbidden by Holy Writ, they would have it in spite of any divine law whatever."

From 1700 to 1710 there was imported into England an average of 800,000 lb. of tea per annum, and in 1721 the importation exceeded, for the first time, 1,000,000 lb.

Tea as well as coffee and chocolate had gained for themselves a place in the hearts of the people. The coffee-house keeper and the apothecary had ceased to be the sole salesmen; the grocer, who had already added tobacco to his stock, now added these new beverages to the many articles he dealt in, and found them not only profitable but a new means of attracting fresh customers to his establishment.

Advantage was taken of the advertising columns of the press to further their sale, one of

THE STORY OF TEA

the earliest of such advertisements by a tradesman being the following, which appeared in the *Daily Courant* on January 11, 1710.

- “ The finest coffee in England, 6/- lb.
- “ Excellent Bohea tea at 16/- and 20/-, &
- “ the finest at 24/- a lb.
- “ Green tea at 12/- and the finest at 16/- a lb.
- “ Chocolate all nut, 3/- ; nut & sugar, 2/- a lb.
- “ Sold by Laurence Green at the Two Great
- “ Posts in Dean Street, near Fetter Lane.
- “ N.B.—Good encouragement will be given to
- “ a quantity.”

The same year, on October 10, the following advertisement appeared in the *Tatler* :

- “ Mr. Fairy’s 16s. Bohea Tea, not much inferior
- “ in goodness to the best Foreign Bohea Tea, is
- “ sold by himself only at the Bell in Gracechurch
- “ Street.”
- “ Note.—The best Foreign Bohea is worth
- 30s. lb., so that what is sold at 20s. or 21s. must
- either be faulty Tea or mixed with a pro-
- portionate quantity of damaged Green or
- Bohea, the worst of which will remain black
- after infusion.”

There is abundant proof, from the pages of Addison’s *Spectator* that “ well-regulated ” families had thus early in the day (1711) become addicted to the use of tea. In the issue for March 1711, he recommended “ these my speculations to all well regulated families that set

THE GROCERY TRADE

apart an hour in every morning for tea and bread and butter, and would earnestly advise them for their good to order this paper to be punctually served up and to be looked upon as part of the Tea Equipage."

In a later issue appeared a letter from "Leonora" in which she wrote: "Your paper is part of my tea equipage, and my servant knows my humour so well that, calling for my breakfast this morning (it being past my usual hour) she answered, the *Spectator* was not yet come in, but that the tea kettle boiled." It is evident from this that the modern breakfast, at which tea is the principal article of diet, had begun to be well established. In another issue, the *Spectator* refers to Mr. Peter Motteux, who from the practice of literature, had been tempted to take up the rôle of a tradesman in Leadenhall Street.

"That illustrious man of trade and formerly Brother of the Quill has dedicated to me," he stated, "a Poem upon tea."

Here is a specimen of the verses:

From boist'rous Wine I fled to gentle Tea,
For calms compose us after storms at sea:
In vain would coffee boast our Good,
The Crystal Stream transcends the flowing Mud,
Tea, even the ills from Coffee spring repairs,
Disclaims its Vices and its Virtue shares.

The *Spectator* goes on to say that "it would injure him (Motteux) as a man of business if he did not let the world know that the author of so

THE STORY OF TEA

good verses writ them before he was concerned in traffick." The *Spectator* decided to pay Motteux a visit, and informed his readers that he found "his spacious warehouses filled with Tea, China and Indian ware. I could observe a beautiful ordinance of the whole, and such different and considerable branches of trade, carried on in the same house, I exulted in seeing disposed by a poetical head."

Evidently the gentle humour of the *Spectator* twits the good Motteux on turning that attention which had once ordered language and sentiment in verse, to the more prosaic ordering of goods in a tea warehouse. This same poet merchant joined the Grocers' Company in 1700, and his son, who followed him in the business, became a member in 1713. The elder Motteux died in 1718. Other poets of the period also found inspiration not only in the flowing wine-cup, but in a brimming dish of tea. Tate, the poet laureate, referred to the beverage as "the sovereign drink of pleasure and of health."

By 1712 the *Spectator* could typify the habits of a "maiden lady of good fortune" as follows :

"*Wednesday.* From eight till ten. Drank two dishes of chocolate in bed & fell asleep after them.

From ten to eleven : Eat a slice of bread and butter, and *drank a dish of Bohea*, read the *Spectator*.

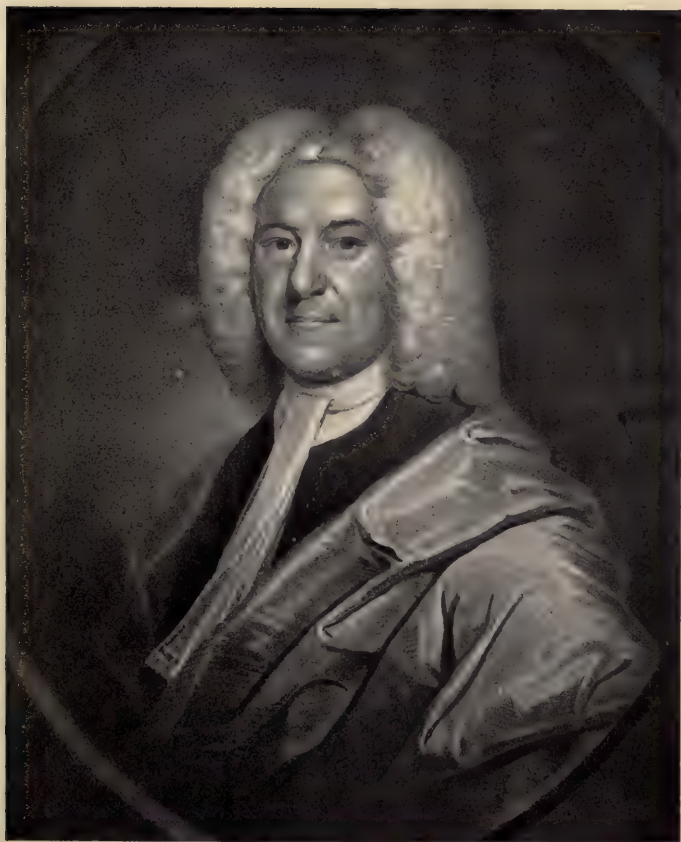
THE GROCERY TRADE

“Thursday. Eight to ten. Chocolate. Ten to eleven. Tea-table.

“Saturday. Nine to twelve. Drank my tea and dressed. From dinner (four) to six. *Drank Tea.”*

It was about this period that the noted tea firm of Twinings in the Strand was established. Thomas Twining, the founder of the business in the Strand, was born in 1675. His father, Daniel Twining, migrated from the west to London and took up his residence in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. He was a citizen of London and a freeman of the Weavers' Company, and the entry still exists which records the fact and registers the admission of the son, Thomas Twining, to the freedom of the city. It is dated 1701. In 1710, Thomas Twining, recognising the growing importance of tea, and foreseeing the place it was likely to take in the commerce of the country, founded the business of a tea-dealer at Tom's Coffee House, Devereux Court, in the Strand, near to Temple Bar. This business was destined to thrive exceedingly and to remain in the hands of the same family through the reigns of eight Sovereigns, and it flourishes in the Strand to this day.

The tea shop of the Twinings soon became a place of some fame. Hither it was customary for fashionable ladies to be carried in their sedan



John Twining

FOUNDER OF MESSRS. TWININGS



THE STORY OF TEA

chairs, that they might, under the pretence of sipping a dish of tea, meet their beaux and exchange the gossip of the day, a scene tersely described by the poet :

Here two red lips affected zephyrs blow
To cool the Bohea and inflame the beau ;
While one white finger and a thumb conspire
To lift the cup, and make the world admire.

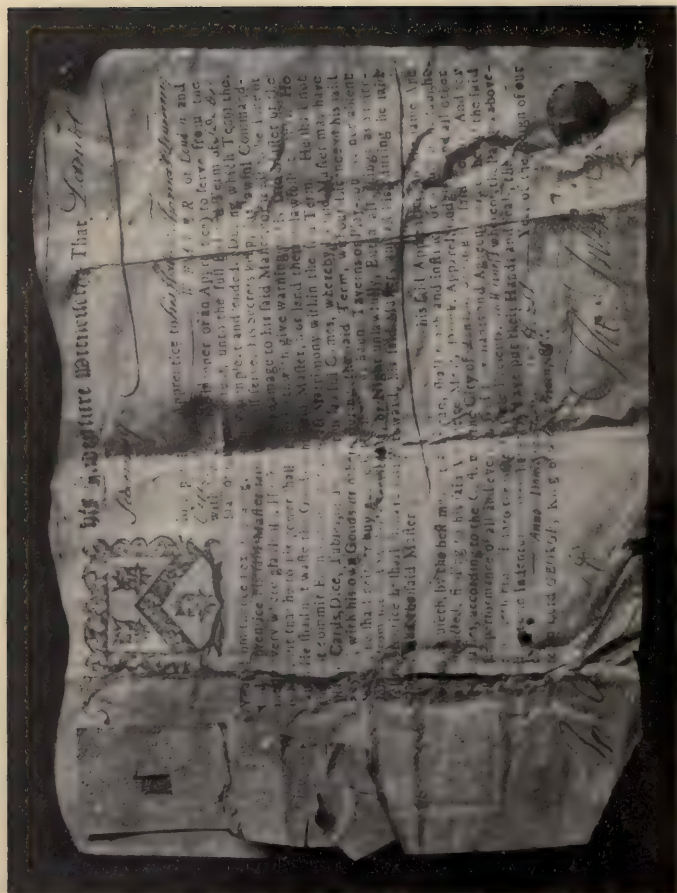
We also obtain a curious insight into the way the tea trade was carried on, from a reference in a pamphlet written by Richard Twining, grandson of the founder, to the custom which ladies and gentlemen had of coming to the warehouse in Devereux Court and choosing the tea which suited them best. This custom of the purchaser assisting at the blending of his own tea had fallen into desuetude by 1741, when Daniel, the son and successor of the founder, took up the reins at Twinings'.

This Daniel was apprenticed to his father in 1727, and thus had had plenty of experience by the time he was to assume control. The indenture of his apprenticeship is still in existence, and, as a specimen of the documents then in vogue, must be given in full. It runs as follows :

“ This Indenture witnesseth that Daniel Twining doth put himself apprentice to his father, Thomas Twining, citizen and weaver of London, and that him (after the manner of

THE GROCERY TRADE

an apprentice) to serve from the day of the date hereof unto the full end and term of seven years from thence next following to be fully complete and ended. During which term the said apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commandments everywhere gladly do. He shall do no damage to the said master nor see it to be done of others but that he to his power shall let or forthwith give warning to his said Master of the same. He shall not waste the goods of his said Master nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony within the said term. He shall not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful games, whereby his said Master may have any loss with his own goods or others. During the said term, without licence of his said master he shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not haunt taverns or play-houses nor absent himself from his said Master's service day or night unlawfully, but in all things as a faithful apprentice he shall behave himself towards his said master and all his during the said term and the said Master . . . his said apprentice in the same art which he useth by the best means that he can shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught or instructed, finding unto his said apprentice, Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, and



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THE STORY OF TEA

all other necessities according to the custom of the City of London during the said term. And for the true performance of all and every the said covenants and agreements either of the said parties bondeth himself unto for all these presents *in witness whereof* the parties above named to these indentures interchangably have put their hands and seals the 15th day of January Anno Domini 1727 and in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain."

Further evidence of the interest taken in tea is seen from a facetious prose-writer who in 1722 issued a serio-comic series of four quasi-sermons from the press entitled, "Whipping Tom, or a Rod for a Proud Lady bundled up in Four Feeling Discourses, Both Serious and Merry, in order to Touch the Fair Sex to the Quick." No. 1 of these deals with snuff-taking, No. 2 with the "Expensive Use of Drinking Tea."

"There is a new whim come up of late called Tea: which because it is far-fetched and dear bought, it is therefore drink for *beaux*. And so common is it become amongst us now, that every servant wench before she handles her mop and pail must have, forsooth, a dish of this Indian or Chinese liquor."

Such is the witness of this document to the prevalence of the use of Tea. In another place it

THE GROCERY TRADE

is said "Tea is become so common now, that every Mercer's Journeyman must have a dish before he can settle to the Shop." The apparatus with which the housewife was equipped for making tea is also set down. It includes a japanned tea-table, a tea-kettle, a stand, a tea-pot, a canister, a sugar box, china dishes, silver spoons and a fork. "These," it is said, "cannot be had for nothing, besides what it costs in Tea, Sugar, Bread and Butter, for the support of this fantastick and useless equipage."

One of the results of the growing popularity of tea at this period was the practice of adulteration. Indeed, there was great temptation to the unscrupulous to practise the art. Tea was very dear, yet there was a growing liking for the beverage. If sophistication could be done with impunity, there was every reason why it should be done. That it was done is amply shown by the various statutes which were passed with the object of suppressing the practice.

The first law against the adulteration of tea was passed as early as the eleventh year of George I. (1725). In this year it was enacted:

"That the dealer in tea or manufacturer or dyer thereof who shall counterfeit or adulterate tea or shall alter fabricate or manufacture it with *terra-japonica*, or with any other drug or drugs whatsoever, or shall mix with tea any

THE STORY OF TEA

leaves other than leaves of tea or other ingredients whatsoever, shall forfeit the sum of £100."

There must indeed have been great inducement to manufacturer and dealer to dispose of counterfeited tea, if people were willing to brave so great a penalty. Yet such was the fact and it consisted in this, that the adulterant was worth at most 9*d.* per lb., whilst the average price to be obtained for it was up to 2*s.* per oz. and more. But the law of 1725 was not strong enough, and in the fourth year of George II. another was passed dealing with the same subject. One clause ran as follows :

"That several ill-disposed persons do frequently dye, fabricate, or manufacture very great quantities of sloe leaves, licorish-leaves, and the leaves of the tea that has before been used or the leaves of other trees, shrubs, or plants in imitation of tea, and do likewise mix colour, stain, and dye such leaves, as likewise tea with terra-japonica, sugar, molasses, clay, log-wood, and the other ingredients, and do sell and vend the same as true and real tea, to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects, the diminution of the revenue and to the ruin of the Fair Trader."

This statute provides that the dealer in or seller of such sophisticated tea is to forfeit the sum of £10 for every pound weight. Thus, this

THE GROCERY TRADE

time, not the manufacturer but the dealer is aimed at, the former having been already provided for by the statute of 1725.

Coffee was also rising in popularity, and it was noted by one writer that "apprentices and clerks who used to take their morning draughts in ale, beer or wine, that often made them unfit for business, now they play the good fellows in this wakeful and civil drink."

So also with regard to the companion beverage, cocoa, which had been introduced into this country in 1656, and which by the time the eighteenth century dawned had begun to take its place among the accepted beverages of the British people. It also had had to meet the onslaughts of the medical profession, which gradually broke down before its onward march. In 1702 it was purchasable at the cocoa-houses at 2*d.* per dish, or (for outdoor consumption) at 1*s.* the quart. It could also be bought in solid cakes at 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* per lb. The aid of machinery was requisitioned in its manufacture, and in 1728 Walter Churchman of Bristol obtained a patent for an engine he had invented "for the expeditious, fine, and clean making of chocolate to greater perfection than by any other method in use."

It was in the same year, 1728, that there was born to John Fry, a devoted follower of George Fox, a son, named Joseph Fry, and one who was

28

THE STORY OF TEA

destined to become famous, not only as the founder of our oldest cocoa house, but as the manufacturer of the first proprietary article to be found on the grocer's shelves. Whilst the Twinings were helping to popularise tea in London, Joseph Fry was doing the same for cocoa in Bristol. Upon the death of Churchman's son Fry acquired his buildings and machines, and had so developed the business that, by 1764, his chocolate was retailed all over the country.

Our notice of the controversy which raged round the subject of tea during the first hundred years of its use in this country would be incomplete without a reference to the letter of John Wesley, dated December 10, 1748, and addressed to a friend, evidently a member of one of his Societies. The great preacher and evangelist having noted in his own case the ill-effects of tea, exhorted his followers to discontinue its use, as he himself had already done. He added that "he believed that he had saved upwards of £50 a year in his own family by giving up the use of tea, which he declared to be an unwholesome and expensive food."

It is curious to note that Wesley recommends among other substitutes for the tea he wishes to be discarded, "Foltron" "a mixture of British-grown herbs to be had at many grocers, far healthier as well as cheaper than tea."

From the light thrown by Wesley on the use

THE GROCERY TRADE

of tea, it is evident that both milk and sugar were taken with it as helping to soften its astringency, and its consequent effect on the coats of the stomach and ultimately on the nervous system. But no substitute ever invented had the slightest chance against the little Chinese leaf, for, by the time at which Wesley wrote, there was being consumed some three million pounds annually.

An amusing experience befell William Gifford, a writer who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He records that he contracted an acquaintance with a family consisting of ladies somewhat advanced in age. On one occasion, he ventured on the perilous exploit of drinking tea with these elderly ladies. After having swallowed his usual allowance of tea, he found, in spite of his remonstrances to the contrary, that his hostess would by no means suffer him to give up, but persisted in making him drink a most incredible quantity. "At last," said Gifford, in telling the story, "being really overflowed with tea, I put down my fourteenth cup and exclaimed with an air of resolution, 'I neither can nor will drink any more.' The sister, then seeing she had forced more down my throat than I liked, began to apologise, and added, 'But, Mr. Gifford, as you didn't put your spoon across your cup, I supposed your refusals were nothing but good manners.'"

CHAPTER III

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GROCER

BEFORE proceeding with the history of the tea trade in particular, it may be as well if we take a survey of the position of the trade in general. When you ring up the curtain at the beginning of the eighteenth century you find England gradually transforming itself. The grocer is no longer the small insignificant trader of the mediæval period with a limited stock ; he has developed into a more complex tradesman, placing his shop, as a distributing centre, at the disposal of the many new commodities that were reaching our shores from abroad.

It will be well to review briefly the history of the Merchants' Companies which, in the period we have reached, had so much to do with both tea and groceries in general. The "Merchant's Map of Commerce," written by Lewis Roberts in 1638, says the East India Company was then trading to Persia, India, and Arabia, exporting to those countries our English commodities, and bringing back thence "pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs,

THE GROCERY TRADE

cottons, rice, calicoes of sundry sorts, bezoar stones, aloes, borax, calamus, cassia, mirabolans, myrrh, opium, rhubarb, cinnamon, sanders, spike-nard, musk, civit, tamarinds, precious stones of all sorts, as diamonds, pearls, carbuncles, emeralds, jacynth, sapphires, spinals, turques, topazes, indigo, and silks, raw and wrought into sundry fabrics, benjamin, camphire, sandal-wood, and infinite other commodities." It is pleasant to note that this writer is able to add that "though in India and these parts their trade equaliseth not neither the Portugals nor the Dutch, *yet in candid, fair, and merchant-like dealing*, these Pagans, Mahometans, and Gentiles hold them in esteem far above them, and they deservedly have here the epithet of far more current and square dealers."

In the same year we may note that the Turkey Company was sending out in its ships Indian spices with English cloth, lead, and tin ; and was importing among other things the " muscadins of Gandia " and the " corance [currants] and oils of Zante, Cephalonia, and Morea."

The Eastland and Muscovy (or Russian) companies were exporting the spices of India and English cloth and metals, and bringing home, *inter alia*, caviare, honey, tallow, pitch, wax and rosin.

The French company was importing salt, claret, white wines, oils, almonds, pepper, and

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

so on ; and from Spain the English grocers were receiving wine, rosins, olives, oils, sugars, soaps, anise-seeds, licorice, &c., while to Italy were sent pepper, cloves, and other things in exchange for oils, rice, and other commodities. "Neither," says Roberts in concluding his review, "need I . . . go about to particularise the large traffic of this island to their late plantations of Newfoundland, Somers Islands, Virginia, Barbadoes, and New England."

By the middle of the century—in the fifties, at any rate—we find the Levant Company supplying the London grocers with coffee, and the sugar-cane yielding fortunes in Barbados.

That the negotiations of James I. with the East India Company over the sale of his pepper (previously referred to) were not the only instance of the kings of those days being quite prepared to dabble in groceries, is evident from the action of Charles I. in 1640. Being in want of funds, he compelled the East India Company to sell him their stock of pepper, amounting to 607,522 lb., for 2s. 1d. per lb., the total indebtedness being £68,283 11s. 1d. In exchange for the pepper, he handed them four bonds of £14,000 each, and one for £7283, promising that one of the bonds should be met each six months. The king, who did not believe in credit himself, at once resold the pepper for cash at 1s. 8d. per lb., receiving therefrom £50,626 17s. 1d. The Company

THE GROCERY TRADE

made several attempts to obtain payment for the bonds, but without success, and the Commissioners of the Treasury finally thought it advantageous to hand over some royal parks, of little use to his Majesty, as a return for the amount due.

Meanwhile the Indian trade continued to grow. The Dutch, who obtained the mastery of the Indian seas, were again too grasping, striving, as did ourselves and everybody else in those days, rather for the profits of monopoly than the beneficent extension of trade generally, and seeking to arrange one-sided treaties and restrict unduly the commercial liberty of other folk. This, and the fact that they sheltered Charles II., determined Cromwell to break their sea-power once for all. Many of the Royalists had fled to Virginia, Barbados, and elsewhere in the West Indies; and Barbados not only proclaimed Charles II., who was then in Holland, as king, but received Lord Willoughby as Governor under his commission. To punish at once the Colonies and the Dutch, the English Parliament in 1651 passed the famous Navigation Act, in pursuance of the economic policy of the "sole market."

This Act declared that no merchandise, either of Asia, Africa, or America, except only such as should be imported directly from the place of its growth or manufacture in Europe, should be

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

imported into England, Ireland, or any of the "plantations," in any but English-built ships, belonging either to English, or English plantation subjects, navigated by English commanders, and having at least three-fourths of the sailors Englishmen. It was further enacted that no goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country in Europe should be imported into Great Britain except in British ships, or in such ships as were the real property of the people of the country or place in which the goods were produced, or from which they could only be, or most usually were, exported. This drastic law, against which the Dutch fought Cromwell desperately but unsuccessfully from 1651 to 1653, no doubt had much to do with the destruction of the Dutch carrying-trade and its transfer to England. As early as Queen Elizabeth's time, Raleigh had argued that England was best suited for the carrying-trade, and this has since been proved.

The fortunes of the Company during the next fifty years were subject to many vicissitudes. Their exclusive trading privileges were regarded with jealous eyes by a number of private adventurers who sought to capture some of their trade, and although Cromwell encouraged these interlopers for some years, in 1657 he granted a new charter to the Company confirming their former rights and privileges. Four years later

THE GROCERY TRADE

a further charter with additional clauses was obtained and their operations were so successful that, in 1670, they were reported to be employing from thirty-five to forty merchant ships, with from sixty to a hundred mariners in each ship, while they imported "pepper, indigo, calicoes, and several useful drugs to the value of from £150,000 to £180,000 yearly, besides other commodities re-exported to the yearly value of £200,000 or £300,000." There is no doubt that this profitable East India trade was giving a new impetus to the trade of the grocer at home. The products from these merchant ships were eagerly bought by the retailer, and either sold in the London establishments, or distributed through the medium of chapmen throughout England.

A vast but irresistible revolution was preparing in the lives of the people, happily fated to be brought about, not by any violent social upheavals, but nevertheless surely, although peacefully and gradually; and with this state of progression the grocery trade was likewise to advance.

It was, as one writer observes, "a time of new men, new methods, and new conditions." The development of our colonies led to an extension of our commerce. The older cities and towns such as Bristol, Glasgow and Liverpool were expanding with remarkable activity, while such towns as Birmingham and Leeds were fast

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

coming to the front as centres of huge and ever increasing populations. New channels for the accumulation of wealth were being created. In 1694 the Bank of England was established by William Paterson and commenced operations at the Hall of the Grocers' Company, while in 1706 the first country bank was founded at Gloucester by a grocer of the name of James Wood. Speculation became rife, the shares of the East India and other companies were now purchasable in the open market, and country squires and rectors rubbed shoulders with the grocers and drapers of the town in their eagerness to take their share in what appeared to be profitable investments.

At the same time vigorous individual enterprise was not lacking, and the task of purveying to the ever widening market some of the necessaries and many of the luxuries of an advancing civilisation was taken up with avidity. The number of those seeking to become shopkeepers increased. Some whose lot it was to undertake it, managed to live comfortable, honourable and peaceful lives, others amassed splendid fortunes, most were content with the peaceful round of the retail shop. Others, a few, branched out into fresh fields of enterprise, whence to-day we have the Frys, the Travers, the Burgesses and so forth, once shopkeepers, now among the merchant and manufacturing princes of the land.

THE GROCERY TRADE

The tradesman was still fettered ; local laws and customs in London, York, Bristol, and other towns still restricted his efforts, but the commercial spirit of the age, the advancement of printing, the introduction of the daily paper, the increasing postal facilities, all made him anxious to break away from the old limitations. The apprenticeship laws of Elizabeth had already begun to be looked upon by the judges as "inconvenient to trade and to the increase of inventions." With all this awakening it is not surprising to find that pamphlets and books began to pour forth from the press, wherein the authors sought to give advice to the ever-increasing army of shopkeepers. One of the earliest of the books issued was entitled "The Compleat Tradesman or the Exact Dealer's Daily Companion," published in 1684. The author set out to instruct his readers thoroughly, "in all things absolutely necessary to be known by all those who would thrive in the world." He warns his readers against opening in business too young. They are to "look before they leap," and not to be "induced by the name of a master and a shop to skip into that in haste from whence you will be shortly turned out in shame." "Young men," he continues, "do then prosper best when they have either served as Journey-men unto some wary stagers ; or have the happiness to be taken in as partners unto such,

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

whereby, as bears by their grown cubs, they are taught to catch the prey with the greatest cleverness and certainty, and with the least hazard."

Another notable book on the same subject was written in 1726 by Daniel Defoe, the author of Robinson Crusoe. He entitled it "The Complete English Tradesman," in familiar letters directing him in all the several parts and progressions of trade. He is concerned for the position of the retailers, and in his preface he asks "if there is not something extraordinary in the temper and genius of the tradesmen of this age, if there is not something very singular in their customs and methods, their conduct and behaviour in business, also if there is not something different and more dangerous and fatal in the common road of trading, and Tradesmen's management now, than ever was before, what is the reason that there are so many bankrupts and broken Tradesmen among us, more than ever was known before?" He blames the excessive expenditure of the age. "If he lives as others do, he breaks, because he spends more than he gets; if he does not, he breaks, too, because he loses his credit, and that is to lose his trade." In his treatise, the tradesman "will be effectually encouraged to set out well, to begin wisely, and prudently, and to avoid all those rocks which the gay race of tradesmen so frequently suffer shipwreck upon." He then deals

THE GROCERY TRADE

in detail with various aspects of trade, and incidentally deploras the decay of the office of the garbler, who in olden time had vouched for the quality of the goods sold.

In the chapter devoted to the dignity of trade in England, the author quotes King Charles as saying, "that the tradesmen were the only gentry in England." Defoe points out that the estates of many ancient families had been acquired by prosperous tradesmen, while many tradesmen had risen to high rank among the nobility. An amusing anecdote relative to Lord Craven, the son of a grocer, is introduced by the author.

It is said that Lord Craven was once accosted by the Earl of Oxford and taunted with being of an upstart nobility. Lord Craven retorted that he would cap pedigrees with him for a wager. The Earl of Oxford laughed at the challenge, and began reckoning up his famous ancestors who had been Earls of Oxford for one hundred years past, and knights for some hundreds of years more. Lord Craven, however, was equal to the occasion and replied, "I am William, Lord Craven, my father was Lord Mayor of London, and my grandfather was the Lord Knows Who; wherefore, I think my pedigree as good as yours, my lord."

In a subsequent chapter on the inland trade of England, he describes the furnishing of a

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

country grocer's home of the period and also the apparel of himself and his wife.

He supposes that his typical grocer lives at Horsham in Sussex, then a market town at, or near, the middle of the county. He is described as wearing a suit made of the finer kind of cloth then procured from Wiltshire, with stockings of Nottingham worsted. As for his wife, who was a good honest townsman's daughter, she was not dressed over fine, nevertheless she had a silk gown with all the necessaries belonging to a middling tolerable appearance. Here follows a list of the good lady's wardrobe, with notes as to the parts of the country which had furnished the various articles. The furnishings of the grocer's home are next touched upon, including cane chairs, feather beds, chests of drawers, and so forth. Very few of either articles of clothing or of personal apparel came from abroad, most of them being of strictly home manufacture. The catalogue is set out in order to give an idea of the system of exchange of merchandise which was then, as now, in full swing between the different parts of the country. London was then the great centre of exchange, where the shopkeepers of all sorts who flourished in every village, or at least in every considerable town, obtained their supplies, obtaining large credit and extending the same to their retail customers.

Coming to the shop itself and its appearance,

THE GROCERY TRADE

at the middle of the eighteenth century the grocer is described by a contemporary writer as the tradesman who deals "in Tea, Sugar, Coffee, Chocolate, Raisins, Currants, Prunes, Figs, Almonds, Soap, Starch, Blues of all sorts, etc." Thus by this time, though it had not been for long, the grocer was already depending, for his staple articles of trade, on exactly the same commodities as his successor of to-day. In addition "some of them deal in Rums and Brandy," continues the writer, "and in Oils, Pickles, and several other articles fit for a Kitchen and the Tea-table." The source of profits to the tradesman of this kind is next indicated, and it is more than hinted that it was worth while to be a grocer in those days, for, says he, "they reap large profits from their business," these arising from the difference between the buying and selling prices. The goods they sold were bought from the wholesale importers.

With regard to the skill and experience required to conduct a successful business, it seems the author was a little contemptuous, for his dictum is that it requires no great genius to fit the grocer for his trade. In fact (and the opinion throws a significant light on some of the causes which contributed to the downfall of the apprenticeship system), "he apprehended that it was scarce worth while to serve a seven years' apprenticeship to learn the art of buying and

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

selling the materials dealt in by the grocer." There is also a most interesting allusion to one article of the grocer's wares, which should excite in us a certain amount of fellow feeling ; viz., to sugar. The grocer was said to sell this commodity at a loss—" a custom has prevailed among grocers to sell sugars for the prime cost, and are out of pocket by the sale, paper, packthread, and their labour in breaking and weighing it out. The expense of some shops in London, for the single article of paper and packthread for sugars, amounts to sixty or seventy pounds per annum, but this they save upon the other articles." It shows what an excellent idea the author of the " London Tradesman " had with regard to the principles of business, when he ventured to make the recommendation that the customer had much better allow him (the grocer) a living profit upon his sugars, than pay extravagant prices for tea and other commodities. The practice of " losing on the swings and making it up on the roundabouts " would appear to have at least antiquity, if not good sense, in its favour !

There follows an interesting allusion to conditions of employment in the trade at this period. I have noted the indications of contempt with which the seven years' apprenticeship had come to be regarded ; the writer remarks that the only advantage a youth could have who was so bound, was that he might thus obtain the

THE GROCERY TRADE

freedom of the City—or perhaps be able to pick up a few of his Master's customers when he came to set up for himself. As for the journeyman, it is said that not one grocer in twenty employed one because their wives and daughters, and even a servant maid helped them in the business. His qualifications were to write a good hand, to understand common arithmetic, and to be alert at weighing out, the latter that he might "give his master the advantage of the scales." His wages were from £15 to £20 a year, of course indoors. The conclusion was that there was not much encouragement for a parent to bind his son to the grocery trade, the mystery of which he might learn in a month or two; and then be ready to set up in a good neighbourhood, where, provided he was not too near a rival, he would stand a tolerable chance of earning a livelihood.

Although the grocer was no doubt the principal channel through which the East India Company was at this time dispensing the fair cargoes of produce it received from the East, yet other traders were anxious to participate in the profits derived from this source. Thus there was a sufficient number of these to be separately classified under the head of the "Earthenware Shop." This was described as a dependent on the Pot-house, and the proprietors obtained their wares from several houses in England, from Holland, and from the East India Company at

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

their periodical sales. In addition to the sale of china-ware, imported from the East, and earthenware manufactured both in England and in Holland, these traders dabbled in tea, coffee, and chocolate. One such trader, Annie Cibber by name, late of Charles Street, informs the public in 1730 through the columns of the *County Journal* or *Craftsman* that she has removed to the Golden Jar, Tavistock Street, where she will sell "all sorts of chinaware and the best teas, coffees, chocolates, etc."

A contemporary example of this is before me in the shape of a bill or invoice of one Leonard Ashburner, who carried on business at the sign of the Rose at the corner of Fleet Bridge, London. He described himself on his "bill-head" as selling "fans, wholesale or retail," and also all sorts of the finest diamond cut glass, flint glasses, and fine stone-ware, English and Dutch tiles, nails, gallipots, and, besides Indian and English fans, *all sorts of fine teas.*" The bill itself does not include any tea, but is for plates, and cups and saucers.

As the tea at the East India Company's sales was arranged in lots which would amount to three or four hundred pounds, the smaller traders were obliged to join two or three together in order to purchase—a form of co-operation which is sometimes advocated nowadays. The sale of tea was not a monopoly of the grocer,

THE GROCERY TRADE

however, as is proved by allusions in contemporary writers. The druggist frequently added tea, coffee and chocolate to his stock. The confectioner, as well as the dealer in earthenware, or the "Chinaman," as he is elsewhere called, trenched upon the grocer's preserves and possibly much heart-burning and bitterness ensued.

A grocer in Chandos Street, by name Matthew Blakiston, who advertised Hyson tea at 14*s.* per lb., and treble-refined loaf sugar at 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, announced that he gave all servants sent to him a ticket by way of certificate to their employers that they had not mistaken his shop, "which has too often happened, to his prejudice and their disappointment."

In our survey of the grocer of the later Stuart and early Georgian period, the relations between his stock in trade and taxation will not be without interest. Those were the days when everything was taxed—often on no sort of principle at all, unless it be that the necessities of the Government had to be met, somehow or anyhow. Scarcely an article the grocer saw on his shelves escaped, and that whether it was drawn from abroad, or was manufactured at home. Even bacon, hams, cheese and butter were dutiable articles—produced as they were on the soil of the country—until the middle of the last century saw free trade made the foundation of our fiscal policy.

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

Forty years before the dawn of the eighteenth century, and, indeed, in the days of the Commonwealth, when the Puritans had for a time (1649–56) actually forbidden the importation of currants and had heavily taxed raisins, certain grocery wares, besides bearing the ordinary uniform *ad valorem* duty, were the subject of special imposts. At the date of Queen Anne's accession (1702) the foundation of the then fiscal system was a duty on all imports and exports of 5 per cent. of the value, the values being laid down in a "Book of Rates" sanctioned by the same Act (that of 12 Chas. II. c. 4) of 1660 which imposed the duty. Additions had also been made to this list in 1689. When the Government required more money additional duties were sanctioned, the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* still remaining. Thus, as we have seen, in 1660 chocolate and tea had been made to pay 8*d.* per gallon, "made and sold." Tobacco and coffee were other articles burdened with an additional tax. In 1689 these special duties on tobacco and sugar yielded about £148,000.

Sugar was an article of the grocer's stock which was rapidly growing in use, and in the sale of which he had, or was to have, a practical monopoly. In 1700 the consumption of sugar amounted to 10,000 tons, while in 1710 it had grown to 14,000 tons. I refer to the taxation of this commodity in a later chapter.

THE GROCERY TRADE

In 1690 additional duties were charged on grocery wares, and five years later coffee, cocoanuts (the new material of cocoa and chocolate), tea and spices were charged by the Act 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 7, with an additional impost called "the New Duty." In 1704 a new Customs duty in addition to those existing, of 5 per cent., was granted by Parliament on spices, and in 1709 the same was extended to raisins. In the latter year the existing duties on nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and mace were doubled.

In the meantime tea, which, notwithstanding the artificial restrictions being heaped upon its sale, was steadily growing in favour, was made to bear many additional burdens, according as it attracted the attention of a needy Chancellor of the Exchequer. By 1720 the total duties were assessed in a most complicated and cumbersome manner, still according to the values of 1660 and 1698. Two subsidies of 5 per cent., the one-third imposed in 1703, the two-thirds imposed in 1704, besides special taxes of 1s. per lb. (1695), 1s. per lb. (1704), and 2s. per lb. (1712), had all to be paid before it reached the consumer. Nor was the case of tea an isolated one, for under the various Acts in force the duties on pepper, mace, cloves and nutmegs, besides all other imported grocery wares, were many and various. The heavy total duties not only restricted the sale of these articles, but were

48

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

a standing inducement both to the smuggler, who evaded the impost, and to those who were prone to import the art of adulteration. To mention a typical instance, the burden of taxation on pepper led to such a wholesale adulteration of the condiment that the Government was forced, in 1722, to reduce the duty to a fraction of what it had previously been.

Thus the taxation of the various items dealt in by the grocer fluctuated until 1723. At that date Sir Robert Walpole, one of England's greatest statesmen, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, which office together with that of First Lord of the Treasury, he had assumed in 1721, and he took occasion, in view of the commercial prosperity of the nation, to which he ever had an eye, to revise, or rather, perhaps, to create, a tariff. His system was what we should to-day deem complicated, his imposts were, in many directions, burdensome ; but when it is remembered that England was only then beginning to lay the foundation of her commercial supremacy, Walpole's fiscal arrangements were doubtless justified. Tea, of course, was included in the tariff of 1723 ; and it was provided that all tea should be placed in bonded warehouses on importation, and a duty of 14 per cent. of its value immediately paid. When taken out of bond, to be sold and distributed, an inland duty of 4s. the pound was payable. No tea, unless under

THE GROCERY TRADE

6 lb. in weight, was allowed to be moved without being accompanied by an account and a permit from the excise authorities. Accounts of the sales of tea had to be kept by the seller, both of parcels over and under 6 lb. in weight.

Thus the same precautions to see that the Government then got its legal due from every ounce of tea imported and sold were taken as are now observed with regard to spirits.

Walpole's tariff extended also to pepper and spices (the former paid a duty of 4*d.* per lb., mace paid 3*s.*, cloves 2*s.*, and nutmegs 1*s.* 6*d.*), as well as practically to every article the grocer dealt in.

In 1745, the duty on tea was again altered to 25 per cent. *ad valorem* on the sale price at the East India Company's warehouse, together with an additional 1*s.* per lb. on its being released from bond.

Thus the annual budget was as much a disturbing element to our forefathers in the trade as it sometimes happens to be to ourselves. And, indeed, when it is considered that then everything was included in the tariff, and was consequently the subject of taxation, the advantage is considerably on our own side. Whatever else fiscal reform would do, this consequence it would certainly have, viz., that the even course of trade would be much more disturbed and distracted

THE 18TH-CENTURY GROCER

under a tariff system than it is at present under free trade.

The heavy duties, of which some indication has been given above, were naturally designed to come out of the pockets of the general purchasing public. It would appear, from a study of the prices then in vogue, that the grocer took care to see, as indeed he was bound, that this should be the case. I have before me an invoice of goods sold by Robert Hickling, grocer, at the sign of the Crown and Three Sugar Loaves, whose shop was situated in Holborn, opposite the Great Turn Stile. It is dated August 18, 1742. From the quantities, it would almost seem that the order was a wholesale or semi-wholesale one, or else that the customer, a Mr. Marsh, was the head of a big household. Possibly the buyer kept a smaller shop and drew his supplies from Robert Hickling, who may have done a wholesale trade. However that may be, we learn from the invoice that his prices for groceries were as follows :

Sugar, Treble Loaves	.	9d.	per lb.
„ Lumps	.	6½d.	„ „
„ “Lisbon”	.	52s.	and 40s. per
		cwt.	
Mace	.	16s.	per lb.
Cloves	.	10s.	„ „
Black Pepper	.	1s. 8d.	„ „

THE GROCERY TRADE

Wax Candles	.	.	2s. 6d. per lb.
Vinegar	.	.	1s. 8d. per gallon
Mustard Seed	.	.	1s. per bottle.
Capers .	.	.	2s. per quart.

In another case a Mr. Galloway bought of Thomas Rondeau, grocer, whose business was carried on beneath the sign of the Canister and Sugar Loaf, in Tooley Street, various items on January 17, 1752. The ancient invoice discovers the fact that "lumps" were 63s. the cwt., whilst "dub loaves" are quoted at 9½d. the lb., and Lisbon at 50s. the cwt. Prices for these goods were pretty much the same as ten years earlier. The custom of marking each shop with a sign was, as I have quoted, universal at this period, and the owner of the business took a pride in repeating a drawing of his sign on invoice form, bill-head, and stationery generally. In both the cases I have mentioned the grocer uses his sign as a trade-mark; and in another, that of a cheesemonger, the business was carried on at the sign of "The Red Cow." Richard Plumpton was the proprietor and his shop was in Clare Market. The invoice before me, which bears the date September 15, 1739, is for three York Hams, weighing 51 lb., which were charged at the rate of 8d. per lb.

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF TEA

(continued)

RESUMING our story of tea, not as handled by the East India Company and the Government, but by the grocer, we may note that among the most celebrated of the tea-men of the eighteenth century was Richard Twining, the grandson of the founder of the noted house of Twinings in the Strand. The Twining family appears to have had its origin in the county of Gloucester, in which shire, about two miles north of Tewkesbury, is the village of Twining. This neighbourhood was remarkable for the fertility of its lands, and numerous monasteries and abbeys once flourished in its midst. Of Winchcombe Abbey, a John Twining is recorded to have been abbot (A.D. 1461 to 1483); and his rule is said to have been a wise and learned one, so much so, that he raised his abbey to the rank of a university. The name of Twining was probably taken from the land, as was often the case in England at that time. Another Twining

THE GROCERY TRADE

is among those monks who were pensioned off from Tewkesbury Abbey at the dissolution of the monasteries. Many other records of the name are found between that period and the close of the seventeenth century. In 1651 a John Twining, accused of assisting in the defence of Evesham against Cromwell, was twice imprisoned, and part of his property was confiscated.

Daniel Twining, the son of Thos. Twining who founded the Strand business, was twice married and had three sons, of whom the second, Richard, now claims our attention. Richard was born at Devereux Court in 1749 and educated at Eton. This is evident proof that the business was in a highly prosperous condition, as of course, Eton then, as now, was the first school in the Kingdom. The literary training he received at this famous seminary of learning stood him in good stead when, later in life, he championed the cause and defended the honour of the tea-dealers; and the polish which such a public school as Eton provides doubtless prepared him for his subsequent frequent intercourse with some of the greatest in the land, including no less a person than William Pitt. The importation of tea in early years was made practically a monopoly of the East India Company by the fact that they paid only half-duty when it was imported in their ships. In 1721, the importation of tea from Europe to Great Britain being prohibited,

THE STORY OF TEA

the East India Company's monopoly became complete. The transactions of the Company were not always regarded favourably by the tea dealers. In 1784 to 1786 Richard Twining was the acknowledged leader of the retail tea trade, representing it both before the Court of Directors of the East India Company and acting as its mouthpiece in the presence of the great Minister, who frequently consulted him when preparing the Commutation Act of 1784. He was also throughout his life a considerable traveller both in England and on the Continent, and his tours form the subject of copious journals and letters to his half-brother, the Rev. Thomas Twining, extracts from which were published by his grandson, Richard Twining, in 1887. His literary gifts showed themselves in other ways, especially in various tractates on the subject of "Tea." Thus in 1785, Richard Twining published a brochure entitled "Observations on the Tea and Window Act and on the Tea Trade." This speedily ran through a first edition, and a second was published the same year. The pamphlet is valuable as illustrating the state of the tea trade at that day, and throws much light on the causes which led to the increase in the trade after the passing of the Commutation Act.*

During Richard Twining's proprietorship, the firm was reputed to be doing "a roaring trade"

* See page 64.

THE GROCERY TRADE

in tea, in spite of Hanway's outburst, wherein he wrote that by drinking tea, "Men seem to have lost their stature and comeliness, and women their beauty."

The subject continued to inspire the poets, and Theodore Hook was able many years later to give utterance to his feelings in the following lines :

"It seems in some cases kind Nature hath planned
That names with their callings agree,
For Twining the Teaman that lives in the Strand,
Would be 'Wining' deprived of his T."

The honour and esteem in which Richard Twining was held were further evidenced in 1793, when he was elected director of the honourable East India Company, having previously proved his knowledge of its affairs and his wisdom in their direction by three papers of "Remarks" on the tea trade of the Company. He died at the good old age of 75 in 1824, and the following May the *Gentleman's Magazine* published an obituary notice which rendered striking testimony to his integrity, business ability and diligence, both in the affairs of the firm and in his habit of turning his leisure to the best advantage; as well as to his mildness and benevolence of character, and to his literary gifts.

I have already mentioned the Rev. Thomas

THE STORY OF TEA

Twining, the half-brother of Richard. This member of the family was also a man of some note in his day. Born in 1735, he was intended by his father for the tea business. He was, however, very unhappy at this prospect, and soon showed his aversion to such a situation and his unfitness for it. His passion for books, provided they were not books of business, was soon equally manifest. His father wisely enough decided to send him to the University. Subsequently, after a highly honourable career, he became Fellow of his College in 1760, and afterwards parson of Fordham, near Colchester, and later, rector of St. Mary's, Colchester. As a memoir of this good clergyman, by his brother Richard, serves to show, he was a man of excellent learning and of most exemplary life, who shone far more in the ministry than he would ever have done in business! He kept up a most affectionate correspondence with his brother Richard throughout his life, predeceasing him in 1804.

A third brother, John Twining, was also in the business, joining Richard in the management in 1782. He seems to have taken no great part in public affairs and is altogether overshadowed by his more brilliant brother, the head of the firm and member of the East India Company.

In due time the three sons of Richard Twining entered the business, viz., Richard, George and

THE GROCERY TRADE

John Aldred. Richard was evidently well fitted to maintain the traditions so worthily inaugurated by his father ; for, after commencing his business career in 1794, we learn that he was appointed chairman of the Committee of By-Laws at the East India House. He was also a member of the Society of Arts and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century then, there has never been wanting one or more members of this, one of the most illustrious families which has ever done honour to the trade, to maintain the firm's reputation and carry on its traditions, and that in the same spot where, in the very different days of Queen Anne, it was launched upon its long and successful career.

Reverting to the history of the tea trade so brilliantly "illustrated" by the Twinings, we may observe that from the year 1728, when the home consumption of tea stood at about half a million pounds (543,024 lbs.) per annum, and the duty was 4s. per lb. and £13 18s. 7½d. per cent.; to the year 1760, when the duty was 1s. per lb. and £48 18s. 7½d. per cent., the increase in the use of the beverage was not very rapid. This, of course, was largely due to the high price at which tea was sold, the average cost being no less than 5s. per pound without duty during this period. As I have already noted, the

58

THE STORY OF TEA

East India Company who, by their charters, had the monopoly of the trade with China and the East, also had the sole right to import all the tea used in this country. Every ounce of tea had by law to pass through the Company's warehouses, and from these the grocer and tea-dealer perforce had to draw his supplies; although of course there were middlemen such as the firm of Travers who, after buying at the periodical public sales held by the Company, passed on the tea to the country, and even to some of the town retailers.

Adulteration, in spite of the Acts of 1725 and 1731, continued to increase. Writing in 1785, Richard Twining said it was then well known that very large quantities of leaves were manufactured in England for the express purpose of adulterating teas, and he does not scruple to call the mixing of the foreign leaves with the genuine leaves of tea by the term "adulteration," which word probably had a much uglier sound than it has to-day. For the public enlightenment the worthy tea-dealer gives specimen receipts for the making of "Smouch," as it was called, from ash-tree leaves for the purpose of sophisticating black tea, and very disgusting they are. It is bad enough to have an article of consumption adulterated with some foreign substance which is in itself harmless; it is far worse if the adulterant is not only positively injurious but also

THE GROCERY TRADE

nauseously filthy. When gathered, we are told, the ash leaves were first dried in the sun, then baked. They were next put upon a floor and trodden upon until the leaves were small, then sifted and steeped "in copperas with sheep's-dung"; after which, being dried on a floor, they were fit for use. Another equally abominable method was the following: "When the leaves are gathered they are boiled in a copper with copperas and sheep's dung, then the liquor is strained off, they are baked and trod upon until the leaves are small, after which they are fit for use." The words "fit for use" give one the impression that the author of these delightful formulæ was cynically adding insult to injury. However that may be, enormous quantities of "Smouch" were manufactured.

Twining, who was protesting with all the vigour of his honest soul against these disgraceful practices, which of course injured, incidentally, his own trade, says that the quantity manufactured in a certain small village, and within eight or ten miles thereof, was supposed to be about 20 tons a year. In fact one man had acknowledged having made 6 cwt. every week for six months together. The price that "smouch" would fetch was according to the "quality,"—the fine sold at 4 guineas the hundredweight (equal to 9*d.* per lb.); whilst the coarse sold for half that price. Other adulterants for fine

THE STORY OF TEA

teas were made from elder-buds ; and myrtle-leaves are also spoken of as having been used for the purpose of this traffic.

It may have been thought that the estimate of the quantity of "smouch" manufactured as given above on the authority of Richard Twining is an exaggerated one. It is, however, confirmed by yet another source which leaves us in no doubt of the correctness of his figures. The statute of the 17th of George III. first recites the fact that the trade in the adulterants of tea had increased to a very great extent "to the injury and destruction of great quantities of timber, wood and underwoods, the prejudice of the health of his Majesty's subjects, the diminution of the revenue, the ruin of the fair trader, and to the encouragement of idleness." Therefore the Act decrees that the seller or manufacturer of such tea is to forfeit five pounds per pound weight ; or upon non-payment of that sum, be committed to prison for any time not exceeding twelve months. Again the statute does not err on the side of leniency as regards the penalty "made and provided." Nevertheless the Act, though passed in 1777, had in a measure failed of its effect so soon as eight years afterwards, for at the date of Richard Twining's pamphlet, 1785, he could complain that the Government had not been able to suppress the trade in the adulterants of tea.

THE GROCERY TRADE

A versifier of the period thus described his feelings on the subject :

China and Porto now farewell,
Let others buy what you've to sell.
Your port and your Bohea ;
For we've our native sloe divine,
Whose fruits yield all our Porto wine
Whose leaves make all our tea.

Another illicit practice very extensively carried on during the period under review, viz., from about the year 1728 to 1784, when the duty was greatly reduced, was that of the smuggling of tea. As I have mentioned, the only recognised portal of entrance for tea into these islands was through the doors of the East India Company, which body had a close monopoly of the herb that was so irresistibly growing in public favour. This fact, combined with the high duty, was a direct incentive to the illicit importation of tea. There were on the continent of Europe, merchants who were only too ready to assist in this work without scruple, and the Government of the day seemed utterly powerless to prevent the landing of as much tea as any one liked to bring in, so to speak, by the back door.

The matter had become a very serious one for the East India Company, for the Government and for the better sort in the retail tea trade, when George III. had been on the throne some

THE STORY OF TEA

twenty years. "To so great a height had the illegal traffic been carried," said Richard Twining, "that dealers residing even in the capital could almost constantly purchase very large quantities of tea, which, it was well known, had never paid any duty; which nevertheless came into the dealers' shops, with as regular a Permit and with as much safety, as if the goods had been delivered from the warehouses of the East India Company, and had paid full duties." So great was the quantity of tea thus imported that, on a moderate computation, the Company and the smugglers shared the tea-trade between them equally, and according to some calculations the smuggler had two-thirds of it.

The effects of this were that the Hon. Company was deprived of at least half its commerce in tea, and the Government was defrauded of an enormous revenue, at a time when money was urgently needed. A part only of the consumers of tea were thus made to bear, most unequally and inequitably, the burden of the revenue. As for the tea-dealers, of whom witness is borne that there were many who had cordially condemned and uniformly shunned the practice, those who acted honourably were most unfairly oppressed and almost ruined by the smuggler, and those who dealt in contraband tea; and the orderly and proper development of the whole trade was hindered and burdened. Not the

THE GROCERY TRADE

least of the evils was that foreign companies entered into the China tea trade, not to supply the demands of their own country, but to feed the illicit trade of this, and were fattening at the expense of the integrity of the best commercial men of England.

It was moved by these considerations that William Pitt brought in the Bill which, when passed, became known as the "Commutation Act" of 1784. Before passing this Act we are told that the Minister was often in consultation with Richard Twining, who was quite the most prominent man engaged at that time in the tea trade, and was universally regarded as the leader of the tea-dealers. The Act was designed to bring relief to the seller and the consumer of tea. Yet the Government of the day could not afford to give up the large sums of money raised by way of revenue, and hence, by the same Act, the tax on tea was commuted or changed for one on windows. Of course the tax was not altogether abolished. Thus in 1783 the duty was 1*s.* 1*d.* per lb. and £55 15*s.* 10*d.* per cent.; in 1784 the percentage was reduced to £12 10*s.* The great aim of this measure was, of course, to take away the temptation to the smuggler, whom no law had as yet been able to counteract. It was argued that when nothing could be got by smuggling there would be no smuggler. Even so early as 1785, Richard Twining was able to

THE STORY OF TEA

affirm that smuggling had received a material check by the Act. It was eventually to be entirely abolished, although prices did not adjust themselves so quickly as had been expected and this was put down to the artful efforts of the smugglers and their abettors.

Something of the same kind of condition was observable in that day, as may be noted in this, when a reduction is expected in any duty. Just before September 16, 1784, when the Commutation Act was to come into force, there was a great scarcity of tea in the retail shops and in the private consumers' cupboards. It was expected that there would be a great rush for tea on the part of the public just after September 16, since they were naturally hoping to get their tea much cheaper. But unfortunately there was a very inadequate stock of tea in the Company's warehouses, especially as regards the two kinds, Souchong and Congou ; and the great reduction in price apparently did not at once come off. So much was this taken to heart that the Act was declared to be a failure. Richard Twining, speaking of this, says that "the principal causes of the then failure of the Tea Act, and the chief difficulties which accompanied the Tea Revolution, were the artifices of the smuggler, and the scarcity of tea throughout the Kingdom." The people, however, had blamed the Minister, the East India Company,

THE GROCERY TRADE

and the tea-dealers, and Twining takes up the cudgels for the last-named, and incidentally for the other two of the alleged culprits, in order to show who was really at fault, and to unmask the designs of the smuggler to whom cheap tea meant destruction.

The Tea Act did more than transfer part of the tax on tea (which could be evaded by the smuggler) to windows (which did not interest him); it also regulated the price of tea and the quantity to be put up for sale by the East India Company, as well as the stock they were bound to keep. This stock was to equal at least one year's consumption, according to the sales of the preceding year. There were to be four sales each year, at the first of which five millions of pounds of tea were to be put up; and at the second, at least half that quantity. This, viz., $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds, was already a larger quantity than had ever been delivered before in twelve months, and a larger quantity than the consumption, both legal and illegal, of any previous six months. A regular importation of tea was also provided for by the Act, and it was to be sold, if one penny per pound were offered the Company on the prime cost. Richard Twining bears witness that the Directors honestly endeavoured to act in the spirit of these regulations; and as for the tea-dealers, or, at any rate, the better part of them, he assures us they were not only desirous of a change in the

THE STORY OF TEA

law, but actually submitted a plan therefor to the Committee of the House appointed to consider the question of smuggling.

It is curious to learn that smuggled tea was ordinarily called "loose tea" in those days; and Richard Twining throws some light in his pamphlet on the dealings the grocer had in the illicit tea. He tells us that the purchase of smuggled tea was at first confined to a few tea-dealers; but when it appeared that these carried on the trade with ample security, others joined in the game. Those who found the smuggler a cheaper market than the East India Company were, of course, able to undersell the fair trader, and this obliged the latter, if he would live, to choose between the sacrifice of profit and ruin on the one hand, or the alternative of joining the number of those who dealt in the smuggled article. So great was the pressure of circumstances that many persons, who had at first strenuously opposed, and zealously endeavoured to destroy, this commerce, at last openly, even if reluctantly, engaged in it. Already a Committee of Tea-dealers had been appointed to consider the whole question, and the East India Company had recognised the unselfishness of its objects by subscribing £500 to its funds. The Act was therefore welcomed by the tea-dealers, who numbered about 30,000 in the United Kingdom, as removing the cause

THE GROCERY TRADE

of what was likely to prove the corruption of the trade.

The first sale after the Act had passed did not take place without some trouble. It was held in September 1784, and the smugglers used their best endeavours to run up the prices of tea, and thus in a measure defeat the object of the Act. Especially was this so in the case of Souchong and Congou, as I have already noted. The Committee of Tea-dealers, watching the direction in which things were drifting, thereupon requested a suspension of the sale, and their request was granted by the Directors. This request was a signal proof of the trade's desire to bring cheaper tea into use. To confirm this, Richard Twining has a very interesting word or two to say on the question of the retail dealers' profit on tea, in which he claims their right to make a reasonable gain, whilst avoiding extortion on the one hand, and what we should to-day call "cutting" on the other. He tells us that on the delivery of the new teas, he arranged them into different sorts, corresponding, as nearly as possible, to the qualities of the different sorts of tea which he sold under the old regulation. Having thus fixed the qualities, it remained to fix the prices; and this he did by adding to the prime cost of each article what he thought a reasonable profit. He goes on to say that "There are indeed persons in our trade, as well as in almost every

68

THE STORY OF TEA

other, who are constantly selling at, or under, prime cost. Such persons I have ever considered either as fools or impostors, and I will neither imitate nor deal with them. When a reasonable profit no longer attends trade, I will quit it."

From this it appears that "cutting" is not altogether such a modern practice as one might have supposed, and that Richard Twining had a wholesome dislike of a device which he considered only worthy of the man who was either a fool or a knave. It might be well if the same feeling were a little more prevalent in the trade of to-day!

At the same time, Richard Twining held that it was no part of the tea-dealers' duty to make exorbitant profits; and that it was to their interest not to do so. He pointed out that the tea-trade had undergone, just then, a great revolution, which had a disturbing effect on trade. It behoved every tea-dealer to be diligent to keep his old customers and to get new ones "not by mean and petty artifices from other tradesmen as honest as himself, but to get them from those smugglers and their abettors," who would not, it was hoped, be any longer able to supply them, by reason, of course, of its being no longer worth while to evade the law.

But Twining would disarm the too penetrating

THE GROCERY TRADE

curiosity of those who would wish to learn exactly what his profit was. To those who asked "What is *your* profit?" he replied at once that he would not tell; for two reasons. Firstly, that he thought no person had a right to claim from a tradesman an answer to such a question; and, secondly, that he who would not believe the assurance that his profit was a reasonable one, would hardly believe him if he told what his profit actually was.

We have seen, then, in this chapter, the relation of the tea-dealer of that day to the smuggler, until the Commutation Act of 1784 removed the effect by removing the cause. We have noted that the high price of tea and the excessive duties had led a good many sellers of tea to connive at its adulteration. It remains to notice a third charge made against the retailer of the day. It is that of "mixing," which it seems some people thought to be merely a dodge of the tea-dealer to palm off the cheaper tea as of a better quality. We can forgive the charge, if only because it drew from Richard Twining a most interesting contribution to the history of the tea-trade. He says:

"In my grandfather's time it was the custom for ladies and gentlemen to come to the shop and to order their own teas. The chests used to be spread out, and when my grandfather

THE STORY OF TEA

had mixed some of them together in the presence of his customers, they used to taste the tea ; and the mixing was varied till it suited the palates of the purchasers. At that time of day, no person would have liked the tea if it had not been mixed."

I pause a moment to note, that (as I have set out elsewhere) the grandfather referred to was Thomas Twining who, born in 1675, had commenced the business of a tea-dealer in the Strand in 1710.

Richard Twining goes on to say :

"The custom of the purchasers tasting the tea in this manner was seldom practised in my father's time."

Daniel Twining, who is here referred to, was apprenticed to his father's business in 1727 and succeeded him in 1741. Finally, he says, in reference to the practice which prevailed in his own day (1785) :

"The old custom of mixing teas has been unfortunately continued and if I must now lay it aside, I can only say, that I have been learning a lesson, which is not very easily learned, to little purpose."

But he is willing to make any concession the cavillers require, and so :

"If, after all, any person would be better

THE GROCERY TRADE

pleased with his tea if it came out of a single chest, he may certainly have it so."

The concluding sentence on this subject is a curious one :

" We shall not offer, like the fifty patriotic gentlemen, who threatened to open tea-shops in order to prevent the imposition of the present tea-dealers, to swear that it is not mixed, because when we say it we hope we shall be believed."

The fifty patriotic gentlemen were certain private gentlemen who had threatened to subscribe £50,000 towards opening large warehouses for retailing tea at a small advance on the cost at the East India Company's sale.

Twining was particularly severe upon them in another pamphlet :

" To guard the public against imposition," he wrote, " is, indeed, most commendable : and if they are actually imposed upon by the Tea-dealers ; if neither competition, integrity, nor moderation, can prevent the Thirty thousand persons who now sell tea in this Kingdom, from defrauding the public, let the Company convert the front of the India House into a Tea shop, and sell their teas to the public, retail, at more moderate prices than those at which they have hitherto sold them

THE STORY OF TEA

wholesale. The Public will, perhaps, imagine that Tea, sold at the India House by the pound, must be excellent indeed ; and that the Tea-tree itself flourishes, like the Laurel of old Priam, in the inner court."

As nothing further is reported of the contemplated enterprise, it is presumed that the tea-dealers of that period were spared the threatened competition of "company" shops. Their present-day successors have been less fortunate.

The relations between the directors of the East India Company and the tea-dealers were frequently somewhat strained, and in 1785 it was necessary for the tea-dealers and their representatives, which included such familiar names as Richard Twining, Joseph Travers, and Abraham Newman, to protest against the East India Company exposing for sale teas which were unfit for use. The dealers contended that 360 chests out of 1087 offered at the March sale were either barely sweet, musty, or musty and mouldy, and they called upon the Company to withdraw them.

The upshot of the dispute is not recorded, but it is safe to presume that none of the faulty tea found its way into the shops of the merchants referred to.

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

THE second half of the eighteenth century, during the greater part of which George III. reigned, and William Pitt the younger was high in the councils of the nation, was, from the point of view of the history of the grocery trade, of no small importance. Then it was that the aid of advertising was requisitioned to assist the grocer in his trade, the rise of the newspaper contributing to this. Again the grocer had to submit, like all other liege subjects, to frequent changes in taxation—the most remarkable of which was that embodied in the Commutation Act of 1784 (a subject I have dealt with in the previous chapter). Then a growing love of luxury, the increase of population (the five millions of 1700 had grown to six millions in 1750, and to no less than nine millions, in England and Wales, by 1801) and the fact that the amount of wealth per head of the population was also on the rise, all contributed to foster the prosperity of the trade.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

William Pitt, son of Pitt the elder (Earl of Chatham), was an extraordinary political genius. At the age of scarcely more than twenty-one, when offered a position in the Ministry not of Cabinet rank, he declined. It was not good enough for him. At twenty-four, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons; at twenty-five he was Prime Minister.

Pitt's first Budget revealed him in the front rank of financiers. He introduced the principle of reducing the customs duties, in order to make smuggling unprofitable. We, to-day, can scarcely conceive of smuggling as being carried on on any very large scale, but when it is remembered that the population of the whole of England and Wales in the middle of the eighteenth century was less than that of London in the twentieth, it will be realised that greater opportunities for running illicit cargoes of all sorts existed. At all events, smuggling was a problem which, as I have shown in the case of tea, knocked at the doors of successive Governments, demanding solution. Pitt was the first finance Minister to grapple with it successfully, and this he did by removing the occasion which made it profitable, viz., excessive import duties.

Now, incidentally of course, this policy tended to cheapen the commodities in which the grocers of the period dealt, and hence contributed to

THE GROCERY TRADE

that prosperous and free handling of stocks which attends reasonable retail prices. The point is well illustrated by the way the sales of tea went on increasing, at first by leaps and bounds, and then more gradually, after Pitt had passed his celebrated Commutation Act. The same is observable in the case of other goods. The quantities imported for home consumption not merely kept pace with the increase of population, but outstripped it in the race. The mass of the people wanted, more and more, the services of the grocer; his turnover bulked larger, and his profits were so satisfactory that he was enabled himself to adopt a more luxurious way of living. This deduction is confirmed by a curious essay by Francis Grose, published in a periodical called *The Olio* in the year 1792.

In this essay, the luxurious mode of living of the tradesman of the latter part of the century is contrasted with an earlier and a simpler time. Fifty years before, the thriving grocer or other shopkeeper was depicted as being always to be found on his premises, mindful of the maxim "Keep your shop, and your shop will keep you." Born within the sound of Bow-bells, he rarely ventured out of it except perhaps once or twice in a summer, when he indulged his wife and family with an expedition to Edmonton or Hornsey. On this occasion, the whole family dressed in their Sunday clothes, were crowded

76

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

together in a landau or coach hired for the day, On Easterday or Whitsunday, he might likewise treat himself to a ride on a Moorfields hack, hired at eighteenpence, through what was then called the "Cuckolds' Round."

He would, in holiday time, sometimes invite a friend to dinner, but this was not often. The table would then be loaded with a large plum pudding, with a loin of veal, the fat spread on a toast well sauced with melted butter, and a buttock of beef, or if the guest were a Common-Councilman, there might possibly be a ham and chickens. The drink was strong ale in a silver tankard; followed by elder or raisin wine, the home-made product of the tradesman's wife. The meat was served in newly scoured pewter; the apprentice cleaned the best knives, and the maid, with hands before her, waited at table, serving each guest with a low curtsy.

His wife was dressed in her best silk damask gown, with flowers as large as a fire-shovel, so stiff that it would have stood alone, and probably left her by her mother or grandmother.

Such is the picture of how a tradesman of the middle of the eighteenth century lived; and there is evidence enough that his diligence in business was well rewarded by a bountiful supply of the good things of life. He paid his bills when due, continues the essayist, and would have conceived himself ruined had a banker's runner

THE GROCERY TRADE

called twice for a draft. As for public life, the tradesmen of that day, at least of the more prosperous sort, had the ambition to serve in turn all the offices in their parish and ward, and also those in their Company. They would then seek to end their days in the rural retirement of Turnham Green, Hackney or Clapham Common, from whence they could now and then make a trip, in their one-horse chaise, to visit the shop where their fortune had been acquired. As for their families, the daughters were taught to be good housewives; the sons, good arithmeticians and book-keepers, and were early apprenticed to the business of their father, or to that of another similar tradesman, with a view to succeeding him, and, in due time, taking up the freedom of his livery company.

Such, then, were the characteristics of the tradesman in the middle of the century. Later on when its end was in sight, the writer of the essay thinks that degeneration had crept in, and with it a growing love of luxury. In 1792 he says a tradesman is as seldom found in his shop as at church, and consequently it is left to the care of the apprentice and journeyman. The coffee house in the day time, and various clubs and societies at night, find him a constant frequenter—the excuse for which is that thereby he meets many of his customers. He would attend a debating club in order to qualify for

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

making speeches at the vestry or the Common Council, and the round of gaiety is filled up by the theatre, "sing-songs" and dances and card parties to which he takes his wife and daughters.

The vogue of the summer holiday by the sea had now begun to make its appearance, at any rate among the better sort of tradesmen. Accordingly our essayist speaks of the annual "tower" or tour, during the summer at Margate, Brighton, and other places. When a friend is invited to dinner, the home-made wine of fifty years before has given place to claret and madeira, whilst the porter and errand-boy are made to wait at table in liveries. Furniture, the mode of bringing up and educating a family, have all apparently changed for the worse. Finally, the fearsome picture is pointed to with warning hand, of the extravagant tradesman one day finding his name in the Gazette, and his person in the Marshalsea or King's Prison.

Too much stress need not be laid on the opinions of the essayist relative to the degeneracy of the tradesmen at the end of this century. The pessimists, like the poor, are always with us. It is, however, from such writers that we obtain an idea of the social life of the times they deal with, and thus we have been able to gather some facts about the tradesmen of the eighteenth century.

But let us now turn our attention to the

THE GROCERY TRADE

outward circumstances under which the trade was carried on. For a short period every shop of whatever kind was burdened with a duty. The tax on retail shops, however, did not long continue, being imposed in 1785 and repealed four years later. On the other hand the retailer of tea had to be licensed. The duty was imposed by North in 1780, and was 5*s.* per annum. Afterwards it was increased by 6*d.*, and later was made 11*s.*

This, however, was but a minor burden compared with the customs duties which almost every article found in the grocer's warehouse was charged with. Pitt's tariff extended from tea to salt, and even butter, hams, bacon and cheese were taxed. Thus in 1787 the duty on bacon and hams was 47*s.* the cwt., on butter it was 2*s.* 6*d.* the cwt. The same year the tax on currants was £1 3*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. Coffee was very heavily taxed between 1723 and 1784, but the end of the Government must surely have been thereby defeated, for the revenue from this source sank to less than £3000 per annum. In 1779 and again in 1782, the duty was raised 5 per cent.

In 1784 Pitt reduced the duty to 6*d.* per lb. on coffee imported from the English plantation in America; although he maintained it at 2*s.* 6*d.* on coffee drawn from other places. In 1795 it was again increased by the same minister.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

Sugar was another article which was variously taxed at different dates in this century. From 1703 to 1747 the duty on West Indian sugar stood at the moderate sum of 3s. 6d. per cwt.

The sugar planters had a shrewd notion that the growth of their industry would prove a tempting bait to the Home Government, and they accordingly predicted all kinds of disasters should the Government attempt to increase the then tax of 3s. 6d. per cwt. It was argued that a new duty upon sugar would diminish the planters' income and that, as he would not be able to bear another tax superadded to his present charges, he would be compelled "to desert his present settlements and to remove his negroes and other effects to the French or Dutch sugar colonies where he may reap the fruits of his labour."

The final argument of the sugar planters' advocate is interesting when read in the light of recent events.

"The exorbitance of price must retrench the consumption of a commodity, whether that price is owing to Duties or to any other cause. For the common People, having no money to spare, every farthing of what they acquire is appropriated to a certain Use and the least part cannot be added to one Article without encroaching upon some other. There are also several orders of men, superior to the common

THE GROCERY TRADE

or meanest sort, who enjoy the Conveniences of Life in different degrees above one another, and yet are not able to lay up any thing at the Year's End. Every sum of their income has, in the same manner, its peculiar Use assigned to it, from which it can be as little diverted to any other Purpose, as the scanty gains of the Meanest People. These Degrees of People, when a commodity not absolutely necessary to Life becomes dearer than ordinary, cannot purchase their usual shares without sacrificing a more necessary or more favourite expense, and they must be content with a less quantity, or buy in its Room something which is cheaper, and yet serves tolerably well the same intent; or else they must submit absolutely to the want of it."

These arguments and this solicitude for the poor consumer, fell on deaf ears. The Government continued to see in sugar a fruitful source of revenue, and from then to the end of the century the duties on the same variety of sugar were as follows :

1747 to 1759	. .	4s. 10d.	per cwt.
1759 to 1779	. .	6s. 4d.	„ „
1779 to 1781	. .	6s. 8d.	„ „
1781 to 1791	. .	12s. 4d.	„ „
1791 to 1797	. .	15s. 0d.	„ „
1797 to 1799	. .	17s. 6d.	„ „
1799 to 1803	. .	20s. 0d.	„ „

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

Distinctive duties were afterwards charged on sugar according to its place of origin. Thus from 1793 to 1803 the duties on East India sugar were 37 and 38 per cent. of the value, and afterwards were 11s. and 8s. per cwt. more than those on sugar from the West Indies.

These fluctuating and unstable duties were probably as much a disturbing factor in the smooth march of trade then as they have since proved to be.

It is interesting to note that at this period and until much later, the clerk of the Grocers' Company received £200 a year from the Government for making the weekly "sugar returns," that is to say he supplied the *London Gazette* with the average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar exclusive of customs and the excise payable on the commodity.

I have already touched upon various phases of the position of sugar during the eighteenth century, but my survey of this period would be incomplete did I not note that in the eighteenth century the first tentative attempts to produce sugar from the beet and other roots were made.

It was in 1747 that Margraff, a German chemist, discovered that sugar existed in roots, and he forthwith began to experiment on skirret (a variety of parsnip) and on white and red beet. He dried slices of these roots, and placing them under the microscope perceived crystals of sugar.

THE GROCERY TRADE

He next reduced the dried root to a powder and digested it with boiling alcohol, which dissolved out the sugar.

At first the sugar so obtained was regarded as a curiosity, and its sweetening power and identity with the sugar of the sugar-cane were doubted. It was not therefore until 1788, that the first beet-sugar factory was attempted (at Cumoon in Silesia), the result being a failure because the mistake of *boiling* the root, before extracting the juice, was made. Later, Napoleon, whose far-seeing eye doubtless perceived some of the vast possibilities of the beet as at least a supplementary source of the commodity, interested himself in the process, and he offered a premium for the best method of extracting sugar from beet. His Minister of the Interior, M. Chaptal, himself a chemist, threw himself into the work, and success crowned the Imperial efforts. A factory was established at Amboise, and the first sample of the new sugar made there was conveyed to Napoleon, who was so pleased with the product that he had it put under a glass case as a specimen of the achievements of France. It was not until some forty years later, however, that the manufacture of sugar from beet seriously threatened the supremacy of the sugar-cane.

The great fluctuations in the prices of sugar which occurred, especially during the latter half of the eighteenth century, were largely due to the

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

wars which England was then compelled to wage. In 1748 a stone of sugar cost the consumer 5s. 10d. In 1781 it had risen to 7s. 10d. From 1775 (date of the battle of Bunker's Hill) to 1782 (when the independence of the United States was acknowledged), the war with America was in progress. As a result there was a striking increase in the retail prices of sugars, as the following table from a contemporary document will illustrate:

	Prices per lb. in 1775	Prices per lb. in 1780
Brown Raw	3d.	6d.
Fine Raw	5d. to 6d.	8d. to 9d.
Double Refined	1s.	{ 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d.
Single Refined Loaves	7d.	10d.
Brown Lump	6d.	9d.
Bastard (for pastry and for the use of the poor)	3d. to 5d.	6d. to 8d.
Melasses	1½d.	2½d. to 3d

The subsequent war with France caused a further increase in the price.

During this period, whilst England was slowly acquiring the supremacy of the seas, commerce with the Colonies was only carried on in face of many difficulties and dangers. These had an immense effect on the prices of the commodities imported, and especially on that

THE GROCERY TRADE

of sugar, as contemporary documents assure us.

At the same time the fluctuations in prices occasioned by the situation of the country induced much gambling in this article. Speculation had led to a temporary fall in prices from 1792 to 1794, but from 1795 to 1798 a range of very high prices ensued, due to the failure of supplies especially from St. Domingo, Muscovado, formerly 32*s.* to 58*s.* per cwt., going up to 62*s.*–87*s.*, and East India White, formerly 60*s.*–70*s.*, being increased to 96*s.*–115*s.* per cwt.

The big prices of 1799 were followed by a severe fall not only in sugar, but in other West Indian produce, and the importers, especially at Liverpool, were severely hit, many well-known houses tottering to their fall, and in order to avert the ruin which threatened them, an Act was this year passed granting a loan of £500,000 in Exchequer Bills to the West Indian merchants, the security being the stocks in their warehouses valued at upwards of two millions sterling. By the end of the century sugar had fallen to 28*s.*–50*s.* for Muscovado, and 50*s.*–70*s.* for East India White.

The connection between the Grocers' Company of London and the trade had now practically ceased. Their supervision of the trade had fallen into desuetude since the beginning of the century, although by the last charter (that of

86

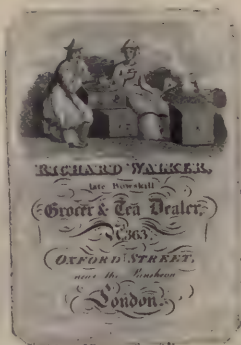
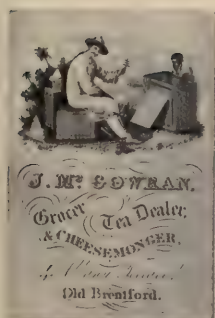
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

1690) the right of every grocer and those who followed the allied trades within the metropolis to take up their freedom in the Company, still existed. It was not quite the same in some other of the principal cities of the kingdom, for notwithstanding the general awakening throughout England, efforts were still being made in many quarters to prohibit freedom of trade. The rise of the small trader was not welcomed. The records of the Merchant Adventurers' Companies of York and of Newcastle contain numerous references to persons being prosecuted for daring to exercise their trade as grocers in these towns without permission. In 1741 Robert Ward was allowed to trade in York on condition that he paid 5s. yearly to the Company, and agreed to purchase his goods of the local grocers.

At Newcastle in 1768, Andrew Burn was actually indicted before the Sessions for exercising the trade of a grocer without a licence from the Merchant Adventurers' Company of the same place. He was forced to submit to the Company, and either accept their licence or give up his trade as a grocer. In 1769 licence was granted him in consideration of an annual payment of 5s. In 1768, George Jefferson petitioned the Company for a licence to trade as a grocer. The petition was granted, and the privilege cost him a guinea annually. Similar petitions presented by Robert Coats and Caleb Kid were rejected.

THE GROCERY TRADE

I have elsewhere mentioned that the practice of advertising had begun in this century. Among other forms which the grocer's advertising took was that of his trade or business cards. These little slips of pasteboard were often gems of the engraver's skill, and one such at least is extant, the plate of which was drawn by the great Hogarth himself. The origin of both visiting and traders' cards has been traced to the employment of disused playing cards. However that may be, the end of the eighteenth century saw the tradesman's card in the height of its glory, and many specimens have come down to us, some of which I have had reproduced for these pages. A glance at the illustrations of these cards will show with what care they were drawn, and engraved on copper, and how skilfully the imagination of the artist idealises the occupation of the grocer, and the goods in which he dealt. The Chinaman who cultivated the tea, the ship which brought it to England, the packages which contained it and the rest are artistically used; whilst the lettering is most admirably drawn, and might, in many cases, give a suggestion to the type-designer of to-day for the improvement of his "founts." Often, too, the card would include a well-drawn view of the establishment, and we are thus able once more to familiarise ourselves with the appearance of, at any rate, the outside of a shop of the period. In other cases the



TRADE CARDS, ISSUED BY GROCERS



DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

trader, if his fancy so dictated, reproduced the sign which swung over his shop door, whilst in a few, the card bears the royal arms, in token that the owner was a purveyor by appointment to some member of the King's family, or to the King himself.

Other ways of advertising were also adopted, and indeed in one case, that of Eagleton and Co., who in 1786 carried on the business of tea-dealers at the sign of the Grasshopper, the ingenuity displayed is almost worthy of the present day. Eagleton and Co. had two shops, one at No. 9 Bishopsgate Street, the other at No. 42 Cheapside, and at this date their business was evidently in a flourishing condition. They opened the new year with a "puff direct" in the form of a newspaper paragraph, which ran as follows :

"It has been a matter of no little surprise with many persons, how Eagleton and Co. could possibly afford to sell teas genuine as imported by the Company at such low prices, but this surprise, a gentleman observes, must immediately cease, when it is considered the amazing consumption they have for every sort of tea. Such quantities as they sell, if they clear but twopence per pound on the average, will cause them to gain, in a year's trade, more than other dealers who may charge

THE GROCERY TRADE

eighteen pence per pound profit and have not a tenth part of the custom. For as twopence is a ninth part of eighteen pence ; as Eagleton and Co. have ten times more the demand, it is evident the balance of gain must be in so large a consumption very considerably in their favour, thus it is clear, those who endeavour by small profits to acquire business, will always necessarily gain the most."

This announcement reminds us that "small profits and quick returns" were by no means unknown in those days, and also suggests that the "good old days" were not altogether the happy hunting-grounds of big profits that have been sometimes imagined. Even "cutting" seems not to have been unknown, as I have noted in the case of sugar.

Another paragraph of the same kind appeared in the *Morning Herald* of December 23, 1786, Eagleton and Co. again being the responsible parties. It ran as follows :

"It is observed by a correspondent that among the various impositions to which the public are liable, there is no article like teas for deception in their price and quality.

"Being convinced of this, he was induced from the great reputation of Eagleton and Co. at No. 9 Bishopsgate Street, and No. 42 Cheap-side, as dealers in this commodity, to send

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

them an order, which he had received for a quantity from a friend of his in the country. The excellence of the teas and the lowness of their prices, which he there bought, convinces him they really preserve the oath he finds they have taken before the Lord Mayor, of not selling or causing to be sold, any but the genuine teas that are sold at the East India Sales, and at the prices at which they were intended by the Commutation Act.

“Such integrity of principle in business will always meet with its deserved reward ; and therefore it is seen Eagleton & Co. are particularly honoured with the approbation and encouragement of the public.”

The paragraph contains an interesting allusion both to the Commutation Act, and the oath taken by the tea-dealers in opposition to smuggling. As for the first sentence, it deserves to be particularly emphasised.

Eagleton and Co. were not the only retail grocers using the columns of the press at this date. In the *Morning Post* of March 9, 1787, Long and Son advertise a miscellaneous assortment of choice groceries in the following terms :

“LONG & SON having imported a large quantity of French Fruits, &c. of the finest quality that could be procured on the Continent, are determined to sell them to the Nobility and

THE GROCERY TRADE

Gentry only, on as low terms as can possibly be afforded, even after the Treaty shall have taken place, viz., Fine French Apricots at 3/- per pound or 2/6 a box. Finest prunelloes at 1/6 a box of very peculiar quality. Dried Cherries 3/- per pound; boxes of mixed fruits dry, at 2/6 a pound; a very curious plumb, at 6d. a paquet; curious French Motto's alberges and other curious fruits equally low; East & West India Ginger at 2/- a pound; the very finest at 6/- a pound. East & West India sweetmeats from 1/6 to 3/6 a pound.

"Japan and Patna rice at 3½d. a pound, or a hundred weight together at 28/-; prune du roy, prime imperials, Geneva jelly and marmalade, Westphalia and Portugal hams, all sorts of foreign pickles, oils, locksoy, the only genuine cold drawn castor oils, real India currie powder, Turkey carpets, elegant and useful china ware, and a great variety of other Indian goods, at their Warehouse No. 73 Cheapside, being themselves the original importers, are enabled to sell at the above reduced prices for ready money.

"N.B. A large quantity of curious coloured and plain India matts, fitted to any sized room."

Another curious advertisement in the *Morning Post* for October 23, 1787, is of the paragraph order. In it is recommended "Ginseng" tea

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

in place of the usual Bohea, concerning the fearsome effects of which much is said. On the contrary, "Ginseng" tea is described as having the most beneficial effects, and to be obtained from Mrs. Randall, Royal Exchange Gate. In a foot-note are also recommended the "diet Drink" for the scurvy at 1s. 1½*d.* per quart—"bring your own quart bottles" being added.

One advertisement must be quoted hailing from Dublin. It appeared in the pages of the *Hibernian Journal* for April 10, 1787.

"THE CHEAPEST GROCERY WARE-HOUSE IN DUBLIN

"THOMAS REILLY, No. 39, CORNER OF CHARLES STREET, and the INN'S QUAY; Respectfully informs his friends and the public that he is constantly assorted with the very best Teas, Sugars, and every article in the Wine, Spirit, Cyder, Porter, and Grocery way which he is determined to sell on the lowest terms by wholesale and retail."

It was the fancy at times of the advertiser to couch his announcements in rhyme. Here is a specimen of December 1789, fathered by one Stutter, a cheesemonger, who carried on business at the sign of the "Two Sneesing Cats" in Houndsditch:

THE GROCERY TRADE

“ The best suet and Cambridge butter,
And fresh likewise by R. B. Stutter ;
With Gloucester, good, and Cheshire cheese,
He sells for those to buy who please.
Eggs, bacon, hams, and good hog’s lard,
The lowest prices asked at one word.”

The last line suggests that the author of this advertisement, if his infirmity was expressed by his name, could not trust himself to engage in the excitement of haggling over the price of the provisions he had for sale !

The manufacturers were also finding the advertising columns of the press a useful medium for introducing their specialities to a larger public. As an indication of the enterprise of these firms and their early recognition of the value of advertising, it is interesting to recall that in 1764, Messrs. Fry, Vaughan and Co.,* inserted the following advertisement in the *St. James Chronicle* (July 10):

“ CHURCHMAN’S Patent Chocolate, by the late Churchman’s famous Water-Engine at the Castle Mills of Bristol, (the only Work of the Kind in Great Britain) now made by Joseph Fry and John Vaughan, jun. the present sole Proprietors of the said Engine, who have opened a warehouse for Sale thereof, at John Fry’s & Co. White-Chapel, London, and is by appointment sold in the said City by—

* Now known as J. S. Fry and Sons, Ltd.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

“Cherley & Merris, Southwark.	C. H. Brewster, Newgate-str.
Anthony Gilman, Gracechurch street.	Mackenzie and Cowan, Oxford-Road.
Phil Dauvergne, Cheapside.	— Kilgour, New Bond st.
John Bishop, Picca- dilly.	Rob. Nainby, Hun- tingdon.
R. Johnson, St.	Henry Trull, Norwich.
Catherine's Stairs.	John Ranfom, North Waltham.
Alex Pyott & Co. Winchester.	Sparshall and Co. Yar- mouth.
John Head, Ipswich.	Will Brown, Lynn.
Robert Hockley, St.	Will. Hodgson, Carlisle
Edmund's Bury.	Rich. Carter, Down- ham.
Rob Johnson, Col- chester.	Fran. Hicks, Wotton.
Pattison and May, Malden.	John Took, Holt.
Thos. Day, Saffron Walden.	Fran. Hart, Notting- ham.
Samuel Day, Stansted.	Sam. Simpson, Leices- ter.
Edm. Rack, Bardfield.	R. and J. Wilkinson, Chesterfield.
M. Iremonger, St.	John Webster, Derby.
Alban's, Hertfordshire.	J. and J. Buckstone, Atherburn.
Hugh Jones, Coventry.	J. and S. Palmer, Hol- beach.
Thomas Atkins, War- wick.	
Nath. Wilkins, Wor- cester.	

THE GROCERY TRADE

Will. Garner, Litchfield.	Butter Hunning, Lincoln.
Steph. Harrifon, Cambridge.	William Tuke, York.
William Arminger, Ely.	William Lee, Hull.
Rob. Crabbe, Northampton.	Mich. Staveley, Beverley.
James Donaldfon, Leeds.	William Birkbeck, Settle.
John Liveradge, Wakefield.	John Jones & Son, Manchester.
Tim. Maud, Bradford.	Samuel Fothergill, Warrington.
John Miers, Rippon.	Geo. Benfon, Kendal.
Nath. Newbold, Scarborough'.	Thomas Fofter, Durham.
Will Seavers, Thirfk.	Thos. Doubleday, Newcastle.
Tho. Swan, Bedall.	And by Paul Hufband and William Mercer, Edinburgh.
Fre. Smith, Doncafter.	
Rich. Thornhill, Whitby.	
Jackfon & Son, Gefboro'.	

“The great Superiority of this Chocolate to all others will appear on Trial to any one, by its immediate Diffolving, full flavour, Smoothnefs on the Palate, and intimate Union with Liquids; and as it is much finer than any other Sort, for it will go further. It is of great Nutriment, and of eafier digeftion, to weak stomachs, being, by this Engine, made

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

perfectly clean, and free from the usual coarseness, Grit, and Sediment, so much disliked in other Chocolate."

Churchman's Chocolate was still selling freely thirty years later, it then being quoted at 4s. 3d. per lb. by a leading London firm.

Other traders were also finding the press of the day a useful medium for seeking to extend their business connections. Thus, Benj. Johnson, of the Toy Shop, Broad Capuchin Lane, Hereford, advertising in the *Hereford Journal* in 1771, informed all and sundry that, "Having settled his son in London in the Tea Trade, takes this method to inform all shopkeepers that he has laid in a large stock of all sorts of Teas which for the benefit of his son and convenience of all dealers in that article he disposes of Wholesale at the lowest London prices."

The mention of the well-known and flourishing firm of Messrs. Fry and Sons reminds us of others which had their beginnings in this period, and which recognised the value of advertising. John Burgess and Co. Ltd. (founded in 1760), late of 107 Strand (who have quite recently removed their factories to Willesden), until last year still offered "their great variety of rich sauces" in premises that had altered but little from the time when another fashion of shop front was in vogue (see p. 121). This firm claims the proud

THE GROCERY TRADE

distinction of being the only one now in existence, which advertised in the first number of the *Times*, when that venerable journal appeared on January 1, 1788. Their announcement was couched in the following quaint terminology :

“SMOAKED SALMON AND DUTCH HER-RINGS, FINE NEW FRENCH OLIVES, AND NEW REIN DEER TONGUES.

“Very fine Smoaked salmon, Welsh Oysters, Newfoundland Cods, Sound, Red Herrings, Dutch Herrings, Dutch Beef, Hambro' Beef in ribs and rolls for grating, Rein Deer Tongues, Westphalia Hams, Portugal Hams, and Westmoreland Hams.

“Westphalia Tongues, Bologna Tongues, with spices and garlic, Bologna Sausages, with and without garlic; exceeding fine-flavoured Gorgona Anchovies, fine Capers, superfine Sallard Oil.

“Very curious new French Olives, Lemon Pickle, Camp Vinegar, Elder Vinegar, Devonshire Sauce, Zoobdity Match, with a great variety of rich Sauces for Fish, Beefsteaks, &c.

“At Burgess's Warehouse, No. 107, the corner of the Savoy steps in the Strand.

“N.B. Hambro' Sour Crout in any quantity.

In another interesting announcement by the same firm which appeared in the *World* on

98

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRADE

December 17, 1788, we learn that they offered for sale, in addition to the list of delicacies given in their *Times* advertisement, Orange, Lemon and Citron trees "in fine health from one foot to five in pots, and Catalonian Jessamins in pots just coming into bloom and very reasonable. The only Greenhouse in London, and in a month's time will have from Genoa eleven hundred oranges, etc., stocks for forcing from one foot to eight in height."

Thus, with the increase of population, the improvements in arts and manufactures, and the gradual acquisition of colonies and dependencies, the growth of the nation, in wealth and importance, saw likewise a corresponding growth in the trade. It was not every grocer, of course, who, like Abraham Newman, a partner in the firm of Davison, Newman and Co., who died in 1799, could become possessed of a fortune of £600,000, acquired from the sale of teas, sugars, spices, etc.; nor could most grocers emulate him by leaving their daughters £100,000 each. Nevertheless, prosperity attended the trade, both taken as a whole and in particular instances, during the eighteenth century. It was but the prelude to developments in the nineteenth century, which, could they have been foreseen, would have opened our forefathers' eyes in wonder and astonishment. Of these developments I propose to treat in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER VI

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

DURING the eighteenth century the annals of the grocery trade furnish, as in former years, many well-known names of historic importance. Foremost among these should be mentioned John Howard, the famous prison reformer, who was born in 1726. His father bound him as an apprentice to Messrs. Newman and Shipley, grocers of Watling Street, paying as a premium the huge sum of £700. The death of his father, before his term of apprenticeship expired, whereby he came into considerable property, caused him to terminate his apprenticeship and abandon the trade, for which apparently he had not entertained much liking. His subsequent career, which eventually gave him the title of "The Prisoner's Friend," is well known.

Another well-known personage who commenced his career as an apprentice to the grocery trade was Richard Reynolds, one of the greatest of Bristol's great philanthropists.

From Bristol also came Joseph Fry, the founder of the well-known cocoa house. He

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

was sprung from an old yeoman stock of Wiltshire, and early in the eighteenth century he emigrated to Bristol, where, being a man of parts, he soon made his mark in the religious, social, and commercial life of his adopted city.

He soon threw himself into the business life of the city. He started soap- and candle-works, he interested himself in the making of the celebrated "Bristol china" and in type-founding; but the business of cocoa- and chocolate-making was one of his earliest, as it was his most successful venture. Of this the *Bristol Journal* of the period gives evidence in its announcement that "the ingenious Mr. Fry is removed from Small Street to a house opposite Chequer Lane, in Narrow Wine Street, where he makes and sells chocolate as usual." In 1763 he removed to Wine Street, but by 1771 the business had so increased under his management that he took larger premises in Union Street.

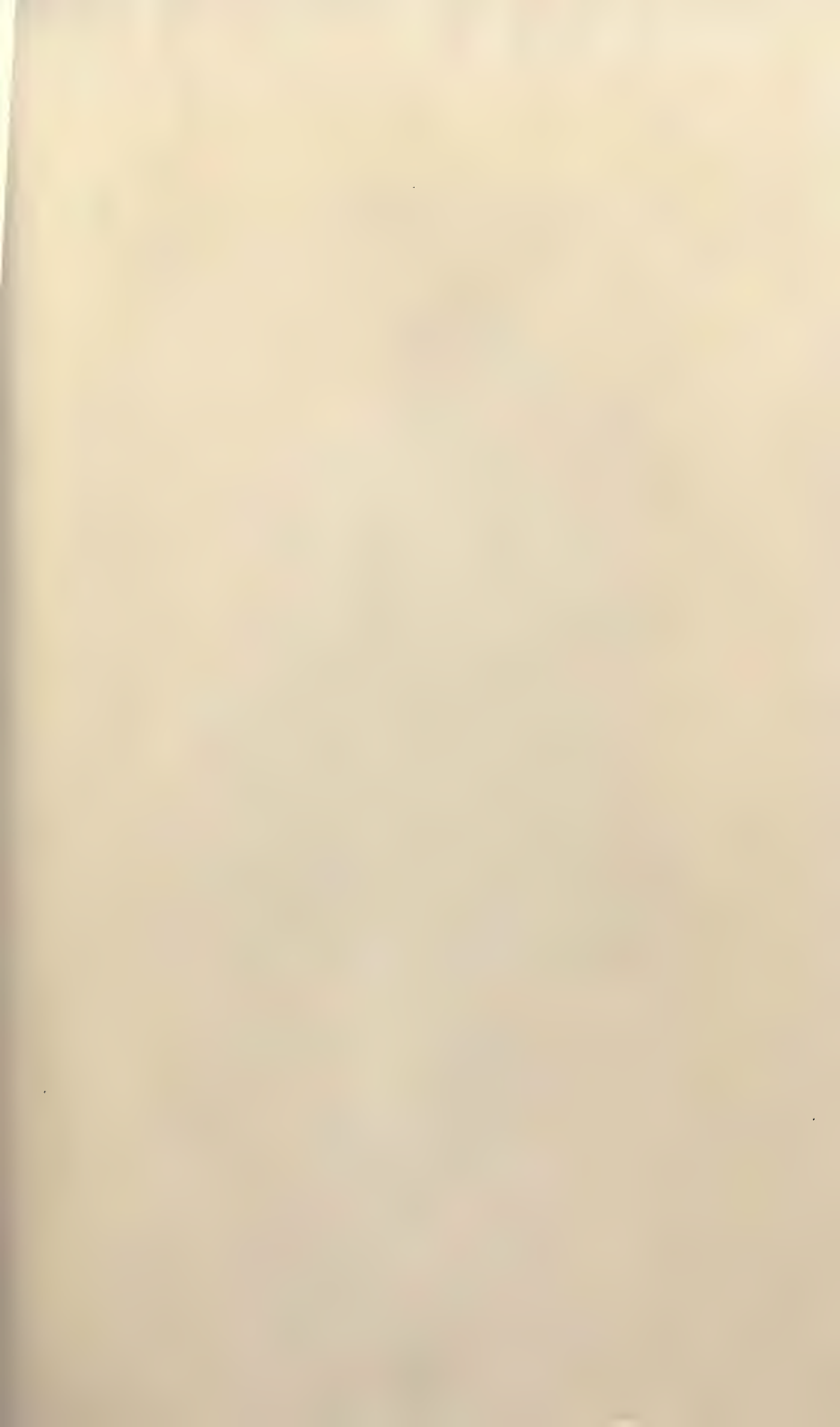
Joseph Fry seems to have been one of those men whose business success was only equalled by their sterling uprightness of character and public spirit. This fact was recognised by his fellow citizens, for he not only became known far and wide as the "ingenious Mr. Fry of Bristol," but he also received the freedom of the city of Bristol. He lived to a good age, dying in 1787. For a brief period his widow held the reins of government, passing them on to her son, Joseph Storrs Fry (born 1769, died 1835). It

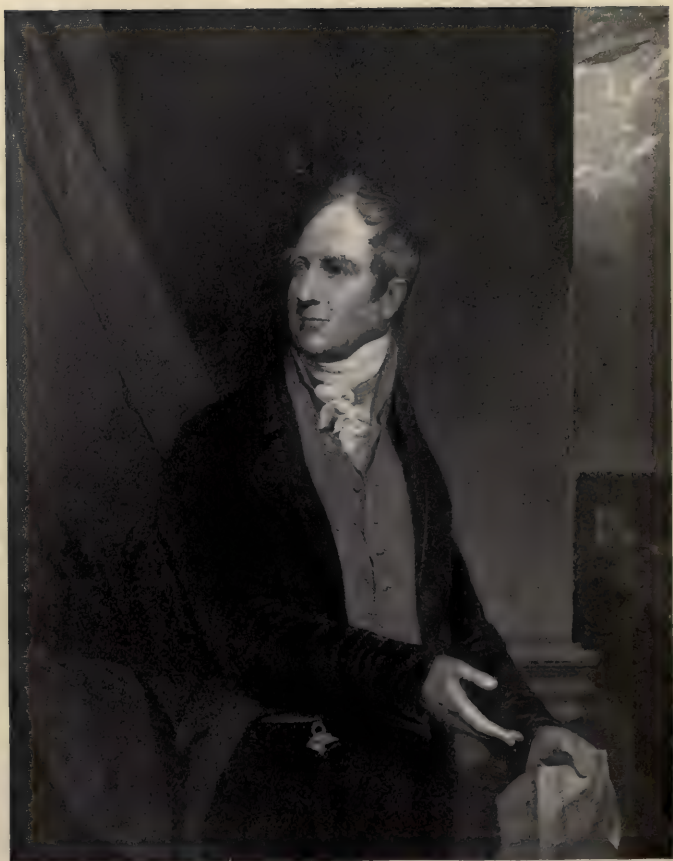
THE GROCERY TRADE

was to this representative family and firm that Letters Patent were again granted on May 7, 1795. J. S. Fry was blessed with three sons, Joseph, Francis, and Richard, the second of whom was largely responsible for the developments in the business which the next century was to witness, for under Francis Fry the Bristol business went forward by leaps and bounds, and now employs, in eight huge factories, nearly 5000 hands.

Another great firm is that of Joseph Travers and Sons, Ltd., of whom something here must be said. The firm had, like most other large concerns, small beginnings, and the tradition is that it originated, even before the eighteenth century had dawned, about the time of the Great Fire of London, at a shop under the sign of the "Cannon by London Stone." At this same spot, the firm has its offices and salerooms to this day. The earliest ledger preserved by the firm opens in the year 1709.

Apparently the firm did not always trade under the same name. In 1728 the business, as is proved by another old ledger opened in that year, belonged to Joseph Smith and was carried on at the sign of the "Sugar Loaf" in Cannon Street. There is a picture extant, by the painter Zoffany, which represents a Mr. Samuel Smith, probably a collateral descendant of Joseph Smith, in company with his young son William (born





WILLIAM SMITH, M.P., 1756-1835
GROCER AND REFORMER

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

1756) who succeeded him in the business and was for many years head of the firm. William Smith took a great part in the public life of the time in which he lived. At the early age of twenty-three he was pointed out as a fit and proper person to represent the City in Parliament, and in 1784 he was returned for Sudbury, from which moment he declared himself a reformer in the most extended sense of the word, and such he remained until the last hour of his life. Among other reforms which found in him an untiring advocate were abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, Catholic Emancipation, the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and of all disabilities affecting Dissenters, and Parliamentary reform. He was for forty years the leader of the Dissenters, acting as chairman of the deputies of the three denominations, and was throughout his life actively associated with those eminent statesmen and parliamentarians who had the reforms he wished for at heart.

This grocer-merchant, philanthropist and reformer was a member of the historical Clapham sect of evangelicals, and as such provoked the invective of Robert Southey and the sneers of Walter Scott. But these enmities were endurable to one who possessed the attachment, confidence, and almost brotherly love of Charles Fox and his followers, and that of William Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe and Thomas Clarkson.

THE GROCERY TRADE

During his life he contested six elections and sat in Parliament forty-six years—eighteen for the boroughs of Sudbury and Chelmsford and the last twenty-eight for Norwich. His portrait still hangs in St. Andrew's Hall in that city. He died on May 31, 1835.

Late in the century the possessors of another name were to enter the firm and to give their name to its style and title. These were the Travers'. In 1743 Benjamin Travers (born 1708, died 1758) the son of a merchant of the same name in the city of London, married Elizabeth, sister of William Smith. Joseph Travers (born 1752, died 1821), from whom the present name of the firm comes, was the offspring of this marriage. It is noteworthy that he was elected a Director of the East India Company on the proprietors' list in April 1786, and was associated with Richard Twining in his defence of the retail tea-dealers. The son of Joseph Travers, viz., John Travers (born 1788, died 1844) followed him as head of the business. Mr. James Lindsay Travers, one of the directors of the present company, is sixth in descent from the Benjamin Travers of 1663, and there is also a clerk in the firm's employ who is seventh in descent from the same man.

It is interesting to note that the style of the firm in 1787 and in 1797 was "Smith, Kemble, Travers and Kemble." This, in the next century

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

underwent several alterations, ultimately crystallising in 1819 to J. Travers and Sons, which (with the statutory addition of "Limited") it has remained ever since.

The records of this noted house furnish many interesting sidelights on the state of the trade, prices and other details connected with it as they existed in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In those days of wars and rumours of wars, prices fluctuated in a way which we can scarcely even imagine. Thus, in 1779, the firm issued a circular with news of the loss of Grenada, one of the principal sugar-producing islands of the West Indies. This had caused an immediate advance in the price of raw sugar of 4s. per cwt., and they did not see any prospect of sugars being lower, unless the two fleets which were then soon to arrive should get home safely, which, they added, was more than could be expected.

Another circular of March 30, 1782, ran as follows :

" We think it necessary to inform you that in consequence of the late loss of more of our Islands, Raw and Dry Sugars are advanced 6s. per cwt., Lumps and Loaves 9s., and we have too much reason to apprehend they will yet be higher."

At this date the quotations were " Raw sugars

THE GROCERY TRADE

70/- to 86/-, Dry Sugars 82/- to 106/-, Lumps 108/- to 116/-, Loaves 112/- to 120/-, Molasses to buy, 30/-." On September 15, 1782, the firm announces that they had a good supply of raw sugars, the prices being much lower. The next month the firm announced the rise of raw sugars about 4s. per cwt., owing to the late disasters to the Jamaica fleet. At the same date they tell their clients that the tea sale is just finished (October 31, 1782) and that the teas have sold "very reasonable." "The Dutch prize, the *Pearl*, would be sold," they add, about six weeks hence, but they had no expectation the prices would then be lower.

In 1783, raw sugar was quoted at 50/- up to 96/- for "Clayd": Lumps from 86/- to 100/-. When peace was made in that year the price of sugars fell 16/- per cwt. The following Table of Prices of some of the leading commodities at that period is taken from Messrs. Travers' own contemporary publications :

	TEA.	COFFEE.	SUGAR.	
Year.	Per lb. on bond.	Roasted. Per lb. Duty paid.	Raw. Per cwt. Duty paid.	Refined. Per cwt. Duty paid.
1787	1/9½ - 14/-	2/4 - 4/6	50/- - 78/-	54/- - 121/4
1797	2/3 - 11/-	3/5 - 5/6	68/- - 114/-	78/- - 186/8
1807	2/10 - 18/-	4/4 - 5/6	56/- - 100/-	54/- - 186/8

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

Another interesting sidelight on the ways of the trade, which the history of the house of Travers furnishes, is that the custom of sending travellers to sue for the favour of the retailers was in vogue at the end of the century. Messrs. Travers did not then employ them, however, as the following postscript to one of their circulars shows :

“ P.S.—It is possible some in the trade may offer Teas, etc., at lower prices, in particular those who keep Riders, but you may depend upon it that no House of Credit shall undersell us of the same good Quality.”

Travellers, as they came to be called a little later, were then “ Riders ” because their journeys were often necessarily made on horseback. As a matter of fact, the introduction of the “ commercial traveller ” was not looked upon with much favour by established houses in the trade, although a little later they had to employ them, if only at first in self-defence.

It must be noticed that in 1782 the firm could issue the following advice to its patrons, as an indication that interest and discount were not part of a business transaction with the wholesale house :

“ Our friends will be pleased to take Notice that we do not allow any Discount whatever for ready money but those to whom it may

THE GROCERY TRADE

be convenient to remit early, shall find it to their interest so to do either in Quality or Price."

Before closing this account of some of the doings in the trade as represented by the house of Travers at the latter end of the eighteenth century, I will quote a bill for groceries as purchased by a Mr. W. Hall of Lechdale in 1787. It was the opening order of a man who was setting up in business as a grocer—and he certainly did not err on the side of over-stocking. The invoice form bears no ruled lines but is a large sheet which had to be folded and sealed or fastened with a wafer (envelopes were not then invented).

"LONDON, *Mar.* 14, 1787.

"Mr. WM. HALL.

"*Bot. of* SMITH, KEMBLE, TRAVERS & KEMBLE.
No. 19, Swithin's Lane, Cannon Street.

			£	s.	d.
"1 Lump	0.1.10½	78/-	1	6	9
1 Loaf	11½	86/-		8	10
2 Candy		11d		1	10
Bask. Malagas	0.2.1 } 3 }	1.26 28/-		10	2
28 Raisons		48/-		12	0
28 Currants		46/-		11	6
28 Rice		26/-		6	6
2 Fig Blue		1 -		2	0

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

3 Blk. Pepper	19½d.	4	10
1 W. do	2/10	2	10
1 Ginger	6d		6
1 Carraways	3d		3
6 lb. Bohea Tea	1/10	11	0
6 lb. Congou lf.	2/-	12	0
6 lb. Souchong	4/6	1	7 0
6 lb. do.	6/-	1	16 0
6 lb. Green	3/5	1	0 6
6 lb. Bloom	5/3	1	11 6
6 lb. Hyson	7/3	2	3 6
3 Marto. Coffee	2/3		6 9
3 Cocoa Shells	1/6		4 6
7 Ground Cocoa	16/-		1 0
2 bags			1 6
		14	3 3
	Discount		4 10
		13	18 5

“P. Masters.”

The form of receipt that was appended was as follows :

“MEMORANDUM LONDON, *Mar.* 14, 1787.

Paid to MESSRS. SMITH, KEMBLE, TRAVERS & KEMBLE the sum of Thirteen Pounds 18/- on account of Self.

£13 18 0

“Witness :

“WILLIAM HALL.

“JNO. FROMOW.”

THE GROCERY TRADE

It is to be observed that Jno. Fromow was then Smith Kemble's cashier, that discount was allowed for cash, and that the five pence were ignored in the buyer's favour when he settled the bill. Also that the form of the receipt differs from that now in use, and that no stamp was then required as a tribute to the Revenue.

There is much else of interest in the doings of this celebrated firm which I must pass over here, in order to illustrate this history by reference to another old-established house yet in existence. The firm of Messrs. Davison, Newman and Co. is an example of a grocery house founded in the time of Cromwell, the year 1650 being that in which it commenced business in Fenchurch Street.

The firm traces its descent to Daniel Rawlinson, owner of the Mitre Tavern, Fenchurch Street. His son, Thomas Rawlinson, who was Sheriff in 1686, and Lord Mayor in 1706, inherited the business, together with lands in Warwickshire and Lancaster, and £1000 in East India stock. The introduction of tea, no doubt led the Rawlinsons to go into the grocery business, a grandson of Daniel having been apprenticed to a Walter Ray, grocer. In the eighteenth century, the grocery establishment adopted the sign of "The Three Sugar Loaves," and the old sign, surmounted with a crown, may still be seen suspended over the premises in Creechurch Lane.

110

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

By the middle of the eighteenth century the transactions of this firm, then known as Rawlinson, Davison and Newman, were extensive and important, as its old ledgers, which, from the point of view of a history of the trade, are most interesting, testify. Thus in 1754 and the following years the firm was doing business with a John Goddard of Rotterdam. From March 19 to November 29, 1755, transactions, chiefly in spices, had passed between this buyer and the firm, amounting to no less than £53,000; whilst from March 31, 1756, to July 7, 1757, the volume of business done with this house alone amounted to £29,208. Another large buyer was James Dandridge, whose account from November 1755 to November 1756 included sums amounting to £7004 9s. 8d. Joseph Lynam of Dublin, from August to December 1754, bought tea, spices, pepper, &c., to the tune of over £6000; whilst Willam Miller of Bristol from March to June of the same year spent with the firm no less than £4500. From June 1755 to January 27, 1756, William Cookson's account totalled £3842 8s. 2d. This was a Hull merchant's transaction. Perhaps the most interesting of this firm's accounts is that of the London Hospital, which was opened in 1754. The London Hospital is still served by Messrs. Davison, Newman and Co., and the length of time during which the relation of tradesman and customer has

THE GROCERY TRADE

existed must surely be unique in the annals of the trade !

Another entry of a different kind in the ledger refers to the universal practice then in vogue of the heads of the firm providing for the board and lodging of the staff, the apprentices and journeymen being treated as members of the family. Mainplaise Davison, Esq., is credited on December 31, 1756, with £3500, the cost of ten years' lodging and boarding for the men.

Two curious letters in the possession of the firm serve to illustrate the customs of the trade at that period, as well as the independent attitude then possible among wholesalers.

On August 23, 1786, a Mr. Daniel Sunstead of Yarmouth sent to the firm the following inquiry :

“SIRS,

“I am recommended to your House by Messrs. Butler & Hammond 50 Cheapside, indeed I can never be a great Customer, but I intend to be a good one, that is to say I wish to be well served, and I mean to pay well. I have only a little retail trade, and therefore must have prime goods, at present I want only a HGSD. of good 6d. sugar the quality must be good whatever the price is I suppose 52/- or 53/- it must be a clean dry sugar not what I have, pray do the best in your power

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

for me, if you think its likely to be cheeper in a short time I wish to wait awile, but if it is at the lowest Beg you will send it, my Common way of payment is to send a Bill when I Rec^d. the goods when lumps are low and safe shall be glad to know, if you are fearful about the money, Mr. Hammond will be answerable for it he is now at my house and beg you will use me well for his sake that he may have credit by his recommendation and am Sir

“Your Hble Servent,

“DANIEL SUNSTEAD.”

Messrs. Davison and Newman were not favourably disposed towards this initial order for sugar and the letter was duly answered on August 25 as follows :

“SIR,

“We are favoured with yours of the 28rd ordering a Hhd. of 6dy. Sugar and saying that you can go as high as 52/- or 53/- per cwt. Now as this will only purchase the lowest Scaliable Tip and it being your first order we cannot think of executing it—besides we should be glad to know wth. what Grocer in this place you formerly did Business with as we are not fond of taking recommendation from people in another line of business unless they find it convenient to remit with their orders—Annexed we trouble you with a List

THE GROCERY TRADE

of the different articles we deal as we like to sell Grocery in a general way; Sugar alone being a bare Commodity.

“We are,

“Your most Hble Servants,

“DAVISON, NEWMAN & Co.”

The list enclosed enumerated the following articles :

“Almonds of all sorts.	Figs—Turkey.
Anniseeds.	do.—Faro.
Blues of all sorts.	Ginger—white.
Barley French.	do. —black.
do. Pearl.	do. —ground.
Brimstone Roll.	Hartshorn shavings.
do. Flour.	do.—burnt.
Confectionery of all	Hairpowder.
sorts.	Isinglass—whole.
Currants.	do.—beat.
Coffee—Turkey.	Mace.
do. Jamaica.	Millett Seed.
Chocolate plain.	Morrells.
do. vanilla.	Macaroni.
Cinnamon.	Mustard—Durham.
Cloves.	Nutmegs.
Citron.	Nuts—Pistachia.
Carraway Seeds.	Pepper—Black.
Corriander do.	do. —Ground.
Cocoa Shells.	do. —White.
Dates.	do. —Long.

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

Pepper—Jamaica.	Salloop.
Plums French.	Starch—poland.
do. Gammaroon.	Starch common.
Prunes.	Saffron.
Prunellas.	Senna.
Rice whole.	Salt prunella.
do. ground.	Saltpetre.
Raisins of all sorts.	Teas of all sorts.
Snuffs of all sorts.	Truffles.
Sugars of all sorts.	Vermicelli.
Sago.	Vanilla."

The reply of Mr. Sunstead, if any, is not recorded.

As may be supposed the firm of Davison, Newman and Co. carried fairly heavy stocks. When they took stock on June 24, 1797, the following items were enumerated in the tea warehouse :

5 chests	Hyson at 4/8 to 5/- per lb.
12 ,,	Singlo 3/-
2 ,,	Bloom @ 3/- to 3/6
50 ,,	Congou @ 2/4 to 2/11
24 ,,	Souchong @ 3/1 to 7/-
6 ,,	Pekoe @ 4/6 to 5/-
1 ,,	Congou @ 2/4
1 ,,	Padree @ 7/6
4 ,,	Bohea @ 1/8

besides several "tubs" of Souchong and various

THE GROCERY TRADE

“tubs” of Congou. The total stock is given at the value of £37,859 9s. 11d.

Other items are set down as follows :

Cash at Ladbrook & Co., £7302 12s. 1d. ; Cash at home, £1407 16s. 3d. ; Cash on Deposits on Tea, Pepper, £1422 ; Bills receivable, £15,786 3s. 4d. ; Bills on retail books, £517 0s. 4d. ; Goods abroad, £4275 9s. 11d.

The teas they held in the East India Company's warehouses were valued at £17,277 5s. 7d.

Evidently the bulk of their tea stock was, at the date of stocktaking, still in bond ; and only enough was then cleared to carry on the business with. This appears from a comparison of the tea stock given above, as in their own warehouse, with the value of that belonging to them in that of the East India Company. Sugar was kept in a room of its own called the “Lump Room,” where doubtless the apprentices had the task of chopping it, on account of the dust.

During the eighteenth century it was still incumbent on the London Traders to belong to one or other of the city Companies, and we accordingly find that Walter Rawlinson, Alderman of Dowgate Ward, 1773, and Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Alderman of Bread Street Ward, 1746, were both members of the Grocers' Company.

Mr. Thos. Davison, a later member of the firm,

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

was also a member of the Grocers' Company, and when he died in 1749, the funeral arrangements, carried out by the Upholders' Company at a cost of £58 10s. 10d., were most elaborate.

As showing the distance we are removed from the burial customs of the eighteenth century, the record of expenses still extant is here reproduced.

“ 1749.

“ March 22nd. Performed by the Comp^l. of Upholders at Upholders' Hall, Leadenhall Street.

“ A Shroud sheet, Pillows, Glo^v.

Cap and Neckcloth fine Crape	1	15	0
------------------------------	---	----	---

A large and deep elm coffin with a double lid covered with fine cloth completely finished with the best nails, a large Square Plate of inscription 3 pr. rim'd handles and other Ornaments all silv ^d work, and a strong inside Leaden Coffin with an inscription, Lined and ruffled with fine crape	10	10	0
---	----	----	---

A room, Passage and Staircase Hung in deep mourning the floor covered and the use of mourning seats	2	0	0
---	---	---	---

THE GROCERY TRADE

23 large silver sconcers Us'd	1	3	0
7½ lb. of wax lights for Do.		18	9
6 large silver candlesticks and wax tapers weight 6lb each by the body	1	10	0
A large velvet Pall ruffled Sar- cenet		10	0
A velvet lid and white ostrich plumes on the Coffin		15	0
Tickets and delivering them		8	0
6 white ducape Scarvers and Knotts the Supporters of ye Pall	6	6	0
1 long black do. the minister	1	4	0
6 large Satin favours the Sup- porters hats		15	0
3 prs. Mens Lace looped Shamy Glovs. @ 5/-		15	0
8 pairs of Mens & 5 prs. of womens best white Kid	1	6	0
3 best crape Hat bands @ 3/6		10	6
2 Allamode do. the Minister and Clerk @ 7/-		14	0
2 fine Cloaks for Mourners		4	0
Paid bearers carrying in the coffin, putting up the body and removing the Corps down- stairs		12	0
2 Porters in Gowns with Staves & Sarcenet furniture		10	0

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

Herse with 4 Horses and 4 Mourning Coaches, with 2 horses each	2	5	0
The Herse covered with velvet Housings on the Horses and a seat velvet fringed	1	0	0
15 large white Ostrich plumes on the hearse & horses	2	0	0
8 pages in fresh mourning with Velvet caps and truncheons to attend the hearse and bear the body into it	1	0	0
8 pairs of gloves and 8 favours for Do		18	4
10 pairs of gloves, 10 hatbands & Favours the porters, coachmen and men that attended	1	10	0
5 cloaks the Hersemen and Coachmen		5	0
30 white wax Branch lights and the service of 30 men in mourning to carry them	6	15	0
30 white favours for Do.	1	0	0
2 men with Brooms to clear from Fench. St. to ye Church		4	0
2 men with Branch lights at the door 7/- and man with Flam-beaux to light the sweepers 1/6		8	6
To the Parish bearers 1/- . Afft. 1/- Glov. and Hatband Manager 5/-		7	0

THE GROCERY TRADE

A man carrying the Lid of feathers before the Herse .	2	0	
A coach returning Comp ^a . to Well Close Square	1	0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	49	17	1
Recd : by 2½ lb. of wax light ends	2	11	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	49	14	2
Paid the Burial Dues at Alhallows Steyn- ing £7 16 8			
Paid for the Bell at St. Dunstan in the East 17 0			
Paid for a Certificate Ditto 1 0			
Paid for an Advertise- ment put into Daily Advertis. . . . 2 0			
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
		8	16 8
		<hr/>	
		58	10 10

Mr. Monkhouse Davison and Mr. Abraham Davison died in 1793 and 1799 respectively, leaving the business in a most prosperous condition. Mr. Thwaites, a subsequent partner, left £40,000 to the Clothworkers' Company. The portrait of Sir Thomas Rawlinson in all the glory of his official robes as Lord Mayor may still be seen adorning the walls of the head office.



"BURGESS'S"
A FORMER STRAND LANDMARK

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

Another well-known firm that has survived the passing centuries is that of Messrs. Burgess and Son. The business itself dates back to 1760, but it was not till 1779 that it was acquired by John Burgess, who left the rural delights of Hampshire to make his home and carry on business in the Strand.

A Burgess, grandfather, father and son, presided over the destinies of the business for nearly a century, *i.e.*, until the year 1874, and lived over the shop, in the roomy apartments there to be found.

In that year the business passed into other hands, although the old name was still retained. Now in 1909, the premises have been given up, and the grand old shop-front has disappeared. It was a valuable old relic of the past and, in company with a very few surviving specimens of the shop-front of the early nineteenth century, gave one a good idea of the style of premises in which business was then done, and the sort of front a prosperous tradesman would present to the street. Over the door the inscription ran that the firm were "Italian Warehousemen to H.R.H. The Duchess of Gloucester"; and with its small window-panes and panelled space beneath, the whole had an air of sober but solid prosperity. The windows contained an array of the quaintest old blue and fancy coloured china jars of antique mould. And emanating from

THE GROCERY TRADE

the doorway and perfuming the air around came the appetising odours of the various sauces, preserves and condiments for which for nearly a century and a half the firm has been famed.

Amongst the grocers who acquired wealth and fame during the eighteenth century were Marsh Dickinson who was Lord Mayor in 1757, and Sir John Eamer. The latter commenced business in a small grocer's shop in Leadenhall Street, but, being both frugal and industrious, he soon found his original premises too small for his rapidly developing business, and in 1800 we find him installed as Sir John Eamer and Co. wholesale grocers, at 3 Wood Street, Cheapside. He was elected Alderman in 1794 and Sheriff of the City in 1795. His employees lived in, and, as typical of his attitude towards them, it may be noted that he had inscribed over his kitchen in Wood Street on two tablets of raised stone, "Waste not; Want not."

From these worthy members of the trade I turn to one whose chief claim to the notice of posterity was his eccentricity. Early in the century (1727) there was born in Cheshire, of humble parents, Joseph Capper. When his time came to make his way in the world, he came to London, and was apprenticed to a grocer, quickly gaining, by his industry, the confidence of his employer. On the termination of his apprenticeship, he commenced business for himself in



JOSEPH CAPTER ESQ^r

An eccentric inmate at the Herms, Kennington.

Upwards of 20 Years.

Died Sept^r 6th 1804. Aged 77.

SOME HISTORIC NAMES

Rosemary Lane, where, by his steady application to business and successful speculation, he soon acquired a fortune. Having at the age of fifty-two resolved to retire, he set out to search for suitable lodgings, and finally settled down at the Horns, in Kennington, where he spent the remaining twenty-five years of his life. He daily occupied the same seat by the parlour fire, and became quite familiar with the customers.

He was most methodical in his habits; he always rose at the same hour each morning, winter and summer, and became so accustomed to the house that he could find his way about in the dark. He had a favourite cup out of which he always drank his tea, and was equally particular with regard to his plates, knives and forks. His supper always consisted of a gill of rum, with sugar, lemon-peel and porter.

He would enter into conversation with the other customers of the house, regarding himself as the champion of Government and King. He was elected steward of the parlour fire, and resented any interference with his duties. In the summer-time he amused himself by killing flies with his cane, thereby acquiring the title of "Domitian" among the customers.

He lived to the age of seventy-seven, and died on September 6, 1804, leaving behind him property of the value of £30,000.

CHAPTER VII

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

I HAVE already dealt in previous chapters with the Grocers' Companies of London and Norwich, both of which had been intimately connected with the life of the trade. I now propose dealing with two other trade Companies, formed at a later period and having different objects in view.

It might be thought that the year 1789, when society was being stirred to its very depths by the Revolution in France, would be no time at which men were likely to meet together, and join hands and money, in order to found a new association for the practical exercise of benevolence. Yet it was so; for in that year, undeterred by revolutions or rumours of revolutions, the grocers of Glasgow met together to form the Grocer Company of Glasgow. It is not possible to say who were the most active spirits in initiating and promoting this good work. This much, however, is clear, that Mr. John Swanston, who on January 14, 1790, at the first meeting of the Company held at the Laigh Kirk

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

Session House, was elected *preses*, or president, Mr. Charles Walker who, at the same time, was elected treasurer, had much to do with the sowing of the small acorn which was destined to grow into the magnificent and sturdy oak of to-day. This must have been the occasion of the first Annual Meeting, for we learn that the Grocer Company of Glasgow was instituted on January 29, 1789, although it was not incorporated until December 1, 1798.

In the roll of members printed in 1795, five years after the foundation, which numbers sixty-seven names, that of John Swanston stands at the head, and that of Charles Walker is also included, being ninth on the list.

The object of this foundation, which, from the vigorous life which it has always shown, and from the great amount of good it has been able to do, may be truthfully called a noble one, I cannot better define than by quoting the preamble to the "laws and regulations" which were adopted by the founders and first members. It runs as follows :

"The different misfortunes which people are liable to, arising often from accidents which they neither can foresee nor prevent, evince the utility of their associating, and, in so far as lies in their power, contributing towards the relief of such of their number

THE GROCERY TRADE

as may be unfortunate and come to want.

“In this view, and for providing such a fund, which may in some measure alleviate those unfortunate contingencies, a number of the Grocers of Glasgow, upon the twenty-ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, met and resolved to institute a Society for the purpose of raising a charitable fund, to be applied for the relief of such of their members, their widows, or children as may by misfortune come to stand in need of aid, and at a future meeting they agreed, that this company should be governed, its funds managed, and the admission of members directed, according to the Laws and Regulations enacted and stipulated.”

The laws and regulations are then expressed in very clear and excellent English, which has a vigour of its own.

It was enacted that the society should be known as “The Grocer Company of Glasgow,” and membership was restricted to he who should be either a grocer, dealer in tea, spirits or sugar, or a sugar-baker in Glasgow or in its suburbs. For admission the sum of £5 was the fee to be paid, exclusive of the clerks’ and officers’ dues (which at that period came to another 3s.). If a man happened to be the son or son-in-law

126

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

of a member, and belonging to one of the aforesaid divisions of the trade, it was stipulated that he might be admitted on payment of half the fee, viz., £2 10s. with the addition of the clerk's due, as above, of 3s. To the directors, however, was given the right of approving or otherwise of the admission of any candidate for membership.

Thus it will be seen that "The Grocer Company of Glasgow" was purely and simply a trade benevolent society, in that its membership was restricted to those who followed the occupation of a grocer—the term being sufficiently liberally construed—and its object being the relief of its members who should fall on evil times, or their dependents, as the case might be.

Full provision is also made in the regulations for the government of the Company. The executive was to consist of a *preses*, treasurer and ten directors, chosen from, and by, the members. Seven of these were to form a quorum, and if at any meeting the *preses* did not put in an appearance for half an hour, the directors could elect another of their number to preside. There was also to be a clerk and an officer, and these were to be remunerated with such salary as might be fixed by the directors, having regard to the prosperity of the Company and the extent of their duties. The clerk was to have two-thirds of the dues paid by the member at his entrance, which we have seen

THE GROCERY TRADE

was the sum of three shillings in all, whilst the officer was to have one-third.

It was also provided that there should be a general meeting, annually, on the second Thursday of January at noon, when new officers and directors were to be elected. The powers of the directors, the *preses* and treasurer were then defined, and included authority to admit members on the one hand, and to grant pensions according to the regulations on the other. Members also were to be entitled to a small amount of sick pay, as were also their widows or children, should they think proper to apply for relief, and a director should satisfy himself, by a personal visit, of the illness of the applicant. The amount of this was to be restricted to three shillings per week : the sum of 30s. was likewise to be disbursed towards the expense of the funeral of a pensioner.

In order that the Company might at first be put on a sound financial basis, it was ordered that no relief from the funds of the Company should be paid for five years, nor should any member, at any time, be entitled to receive relief until five years had elapsed since he entered it.

For the rest, the Treasurer is ordered to make up the annual accounts on the first Monday in the New Year, and his powers are carefully defined, as also are those of the clerk. Lastly the regulations, whilst trusting that unanimity, peace and

128

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

concord would always be found among the members of the Company, provide a penalty in the case of those who should behave themselves improperly, and likewise for the forgiveness and restoration of him who should express his regret, and the regulations finally declare that the members signing them bind themselves to "obtemper"—*i.e.*, obey—the same.

Such then is the origin and primary constitution of this excellent and flourishing foundation. It remains in brief for me to trace its history down to the present day.

At the close of the first fifteen years of its existence (1805), the capital of the Company was £1824 1s. 4d. Since the foundation, 241 members had been admitted, an annual average of 16. At that date there were five pensioners enjoying the bounty of the Company. In 1805, the entrance-fee was raised to £7 10s. for ordinary applicants, and to £3 16s. 6d. for the sons and sons-in-law of members (being grocers). This lasted until 1816 when a uniform entrance fee of 10 guineas was enacted, which has remained in force ever since. At that date (1816) it was recorded that, since 1805, new members to the number of 184 had been received, whilst the capital had grown to £3751 18s. 10d., and nine pensioners were in receipt of support from the Company. Again, in 1839, we find that 49 pensioners were on the books, although admissions

THE GROCERY TRADE

to the Company's membership had not been nearly so numerous during the period which had elapsed since 1839, having been 196 in twenty-four years as compared with 184 in eleven years. In 1864, when another quarter of a century of life had rolled over the Company's head, we find admissions for the twenty-five years to have been 241, whilst the capital had increased to £9589 19s. 11½d., and the pensioners numbered 291. In 1887, the capital stood at £18,021, whilst at the close of the financial year in February last (1909) the Treasurer reported at the Annual Meeting of the Company that the capital fund stood at the very satisfactory figure of £24,545 17s. 10d.

The year 1909 had seen the sum of £691 disbursed in pensions.

Thus the history of the Company is one of steady and increasing well-doing, and its future seems to be better assured to-day than ever. But besides the bare record of figures, eloquent as these may be, there are various interesting facts connected with the Company which should be noticed. Thus, near the close of the year 1799, the magistrates and council of Glasgow were afraid of a famine in the city, and they invited contributions from individuals and public bodies to a fund which was being raised for the purchase of grain and corn, to prevent a scarcity in these necessaries of life. On December 2, the directors of the Grocer Company met to consider the pro-

130

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

posed scheme, and they agreed to contribute £100 to the fund should the members sanction that expenditure. The members were convened on the 5th, and they unanimously agreed to double that amount. This is an instance of civic enthusiasm which is highly creditable to the members of the then young, and by no means too solidly established, Company. A few years later (1816) the directors of the period seem to have been keen politicians, as well as philanthropists, for on several occasions they are recorded to have petitioned Parliament in favour of Bills then before the House, and the Lord Grenville of the time seems to have been a favourite statesman with them. It may be noted in this connection that the Regulations of the Company are silent about such proceedings on the part of the directors !

In 1868 was founded a useful subsidiary fund under the control of the Company. On March 17 of that year, the late Bailie Craig wrote to the directors offering to give £100 sterling to the Company in trust for the benefit of daughters of the members, with the purpose that indigent maiden ladies might in their loneliness receive the help they so much needed. This sum was allowed to accumulate until 1875, when other donations were received, and in the course of time the capital of the "Daughters' Fund," as it is called, grew, until in 1887 it stood at £1229, with five pensioners on the list ; and in 1908 it

THE GROCERY TRADE

was reported at the annual meeting that it had reached the sum of £3217 16s. 4d., whilst grants had been made from the revenue during the previous year of £60.

Perhaps the latest phase of the Company's history to be chronicled was the decision arrived at in February 1908, that the accounts should in future be audited by an accountant (this was not provided for in the original rules), and the extension of the membership qualification. Originally restricted to a person carrying on the business of a grocer, or an importer of, or a dealer in, one or other of the following articles, viz., tea, coffee, sugar or ashes; and later enlarged by the addition of the words "or an importer of, or wholesale dealer in, or the managing director of, a company registered as aforesaid, and carrying on the business of an importer of, or wholesale dealer in, butter or cheese," the qualifications for membership were in February 1908 extended to "wholesale dealers in or importers of meal, flour, rice or barley."

With regard to the personalities who have been connected with the Grocer Company of Glasgow, it has certainly, for the last hundred and twenty years, numbered among its members most, if not all, of the illustrious grocer citizens of that place. It may be interesting to note that Mr. John Swanston, the first *preses*, was present at a meeting of the Company so late as 1842, on which

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

occasion he proposed the vote of thanks to *preses*, treasurer and directors. In 1861, Robert Dalglish was admitted a member, and in 1866 William Graham joined the Company. Each of these was Member of Parliament for Glasgow. Sir Samuel Chisholm, Bart., LL.D., who was admitted in 1899, and Sir William Bilsland, Bart., LL.D., admitted in 1893, have both attained the dignity of the Lord Provostship of Glasgow and have been created baronets.

Another illustrious member of the Company is Sir Thomas Lipton, whose early connection with Glasgow is well known. He was admitted a member in 1895. With the present well-known and influential officers at its head, including Mr. John Templeton, President, and Mr. Wm. Davidson, treasurer, and with a court of directors which comprises some of the finest business men of the city, the Grocer Company of Glasgow should have before it a long career of beneficent well-doing. The intentions of its founders will thereby be more than fulfilled, and its own history continued in the same admirable spirit which has marked the hundred and twenty years during which it has testified to the zeal for philanthropy of the good grocers of Glasgow.

Seventy-eight years ago, the grocers of Newcastle-on-Tyne presented a petition to the Common Council of the said town, setting forth

THE GROCERY TRADE

that they had associated themselves together as a company or fraternity, by the name of "The Company or Fraternity of Grocers and Spicers, of Newcastle upon Tyne," and praying for a bylaw or ordinance to be made for establishing, ratifying and confirming the said association, as a company or fraternity, and for the rule and government of the same company or fraternity. The Mayor, aldermen, sheriff and the rest of the Common Council, of the said town, in Common Council assembled, ratified the establishment of the said fraternity, under the title of "The Company or Fraternity of Grocers and Spicers, of Newcastle upon Tyne."

They also agreed that "the members or brethren of the said Company or fraternity, for the time being, shall meet together yearly, on the Friday next after the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, which meeting shall be called 'The Annual Meeting,' and on such other days, or at such other times, and that every such meeting shall be holden at such place, within the said town, as the members or brethren of the said Company or fraternity, or the major part of them, shall appoint; and that at any such meeting, the members or brethren of the said company or fraternity, or the major part of them then present, shall and may make such regulations, as well for the better government of the said company or fraternity, as for the conducting,

184

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

managing and transacting of the business, affairs and concerns of the said company or fraternity, as they shall deem expedient."

The ordinances also provided that two of the members should be elected stewards or wardens, to hold office for one year, and Thomas Atkinson and Robert Usher were elected to that position for the first year.

Further ordinances provided that persons were entitled to be admitted free burgesses of Newcastle, by reason of their having served as apprentices for seven years members of the Company, or by reason of their being sons of members, and not under twenty years of age.

The Company was also to admit as members such grocers and spicers as had been enrolled as free burgesses of the town, by reason of their having served a brother of the Company, or by reason of their exercising the trade or craft of a grocer or spicer. The latter were to pay an entrance fee, to be decided upon by the Company, not exceeding five pounds. A meeting of the Company was subsequently held at 55 Dean Street on January 19, 1832, for the purpose of drawing up regulations for governing the Company. They agreed to appoint a clerk at a yearly salary of five pounds, with supplementary fees for each member enrolled.

Three meetings were to be held annually, and members were to be fined for non-attendance,

THE GROCERY TRADE

motions were to be decided by a majority of those present, the accounts were to be audited and apprenticeship indentures were to be registered, for which a fee of five pounds was to be paid to the Company, and two shillings and sixpence to the clerk.

No records have come down to us of the subsequent history of this Company, and it is probable that the growing feeling in favour of freedom to trade, and the widening recognition of the natural right of every Englishman to follow what occupation he deemed best, and in what town he chose, and, ultimately, the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1834, brought the existence of this Company to an abrupt termination.

The restrictive provisions of the Statute of Elizabeth had previously been challenged, and it was being gradually recognised that it could not be carried into effect in the improved state of trade. An alteration of the law had long been desired, and the result of a petition, praying that the statute might be made more effectual, was answered by the passing of the Act of 54 Geo. III. c. 96, in 1814, which repealed the Statute of Elizabeth so far as it enacted that no person should exercise any trade without having served a seven years' apprenticeship to it, with a reservation, however, in favour of the customs of the City of London and other corporate towns. These exemptions have now disappeared, so far

LATER GROCERS' COMPANIES

as the perfect freedom of any man to set up in business for himself is concerned.

The grocers of Paisley were more successful with their Company, which was established at a meeting held at the Saracen's Head Inn on August 9, 1824, "to provide against those misfortunes from which no one engaged in business can flatter himself that he is secured." The original committee consisted of Messrs. Matthew Taylor, William Dobie, David Ritchie, Peter Jack and William Lockhead, and after various deliberations the society was formally constituted on November 1, 1824, under the title of "The Grocers' Company of Paisley," with Mr. John Dunn as clerk. Up to 1854 the membership was restricted to grocers or importers, or dealers in one or other of the following articles, namely, tea, coffee, sugar, spiceries, fruit, wine, spirits, porter, ale, soap, tobacco or grain, but in the year named it was decided to admit such other persons as should be approved of by the directors.

The Company is still in existence, and has disbursed a large sum in pensions and benevolent grants.

The funds of the Company on November 30, 1908, amounted to £14,674 3s. 5d., and the sum expended in aliment during the year then ended was £328, the amounts being from £12 to £6 per annum.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE nineteenth century can be truly described as the period during which the grocery trade underwent a process of evolution which has resulted in a great transformation of the grocer and his activities.

Influences had been at work during the last hundred years, which were bound to affect this as well as other classes of society and other trades and walks of life. So, in general, the grocer was bound to undergo a change, and in particular, too, in the region of his own special activities, forces were in operation which would finally result in the trade as we see and know it to-day. It is to a consideration of these forces and influences that we have now come.

The grocer was the inheritor of a notable past; his environment was to undergo enormous alteration, and whilst still surviving and giving promise of more vigorous vitality than ever, he was to change with the changing circumstances.

One can, without much difficulty, picture to oneself the grocer of one hundred years ago, and mentally compare him with his descendant of

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

to-day. A century is responsible for many changes in the rapidly moving and developing West. No century ever saw greater changes or a quicker march onwards than that which closed ten years or so ago.

The shop of the retail grocer at the beginning of the last century was very different from its modern prototype. If you would gain an idea of what the appearance of the structure of one of these was like, it is best to pay a visit to a specimen of the very few shops of this period which still exist.

The Elizabethan shop is well illustrated by that fine old row of premises which is such a feature of the modern Holborn. I have already referred to the premises of Burgess, in the Strand. I would take you, if I could, to a quaint old shop still occupied by a grocer in Borough High Street, or to Hereford town, where yet a family grocer carries on a high-class business in premises reminiscent of the eighteenth century. The small-paned windows, either flat or arranged in graceful curving form were, of course, the feature of these shops, and often one had to mount two or three steps to reach the interior. At the back of the shop there is a parlour, the ordinary living-room of the proprietor and his family (witness the account, given us by Thackeray in his *Vanity Fair*, of the premises where the parents of Charles Osborne passed their lives, in a chandler's shop in Thames

THE GROCERY TRADE

Street). Above were the best room, over the shop, and the bedrooms, terminating towards the sky in the attics, where the apprentices, and assistants, who invariably formed part of the master's family, lived and slept. The proprietor of the Hereford shop, Mr. J. Marchant, has long since lived away from the premises ; the old-time parlour is now the office, and the rooms over the shop, once used as drawing-room and bed-rooms, are now devoted to the more prosaic use of storing the ever-multiplying varieties of goods handled by a modern grocer. Another such establishment may be seen at Bridport, where Mr. J. Hurry is still carrying on the grocery business founded in the eighteenth century by a William Handsford.

When the nineteenth century dawned there was not then the display of posters, of gilded wooden letters and of sign-boards all over the front of the house and obscuring the light of the parlour windows. Mrs. Grocer had quite enough spirit to have strenuously objected to that ! But a modest fascia with letters of classic design and the number of the shop appeared above the windows and the whole had an air of quiet respectability, which was eminently characteristic of the substantial, but by no means sensational, tradesmen of that day. Plate glass was unknown, and of course electricity was as yet undreamt of, while gas was only just beginning to come in.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It may be noted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the term "Grocer and Tea-dealer" had become a familiar one to the British public. Tea had become quite the most important and profitable article stocked by the grocer, each retailer thereof had to place over his door the words "Dealer in Tea," under a penalty of £200, and persons purchasing tea, except from registered dealers or from the East India Company, were subject to a penalty of £100.

In addition, every dealer in tea, coffee or cocoa nuts was compelled to enter in a book, that was to be open for inspection by any Excise Officer, all such quantities of these articles as were sold during the day under six pounds in weight, and all such quantities as were sold over six pounds.

One can, if one will, readily imagine the interior of the grocer's shop at the early period of last century. There was the limited stock of staple commodities in which he dealt, the tea, coffee, and cocoa, sugar, spices, and a small selection of sauces, rice, sago, semolina, orange and lemon peel, preserved ginger, currants, raisins and muscatels, and three or four kinds of biscuits.

When the nineteenth century dawned there might have been seen on his shelves one or two proprietary articles; they were but the heralds of many thousands more, the straws which indicated which way the current was to set in.

Articles of luxury for the table were to find

THE GROCERY TRADE

their way to the grocer's shelves, and to be shown in their windows in ever-increasing variety.

The cocoa of Messrs. Fry, the mustard of Messrs. Keen, the milk chocolate of Sir Hans Sloane, and the sauce of Messrs. Burgess, were among the early forerunners of that ever-multiplying army of proprietary goods now seen in the trade. The grocers all over the country were beginning to have introduced to them new and profitable articles in which to deal, and as the sequel has shown, gradually began to take up the sale of other articles besides the commodities to which their activities were formerly restricted. The wholesale grocer and the manufacturer were beginning to take their place in the economy of the trade.

The grocer of the inland town must have been, even from the point of view of transit, a very different individual from his successor of a century later. He probably stirred from home very seldom. In the records of the firm of Jos. Travers and Sons, we learn that a large number of their orders were received quarterly; and this with so much regularity that the ledgers could often be ruled off in advance. Orders were received by post, or were occasionally given in person by the buyer when he did actually venture up to town. As noted in a previous chapter, in 1791 the custom of keeping travellers to go round and visit the firm's patrons had

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

not yet so come in as to be the general rule, for in that year the house just referred to speaks of the traveller, or "rider" as he was then called (doubtless because the journeys were made on horseback with the bags of samples strapped on either side of the saddle), with something akin to contempt. The very word "rider" seems to tell us eloquently of a past almost impossible to be conceived when bridle-paths were the rule, impassable to anything but a horse, directly the few main roads were left. Of the difficulties which still attended the transit of the heavy goods sold by the grocer, such as chests of tea, hogsheads of sugar, and barrels of currants, we can have but a faint conception.

To begin with, although the only means of transit from one town to another, in the inland part of the kingdom one hundred years ago, was the road along which the stage-coaches rattled at regular intervals: even these were but primitive affairs compared with those of to-day. A decided improvement in the highways only commenced with the nineteenth century; previous to that the "macadamised" road was unknown.

The improvement of the first roads at the beginning of the century previously referred to, was rendered all the more necessary by the amazing industrial developments which were then going on. The spinning industry, for example,

THE GROCERY TRADE

had been transformed by the inventions of King, Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Crompton; and that of the steam-engine patented by Watt, in 1769. The results of all this were the concentration of population in manufacturing towns, and the demand for coal, which occasioned a vast increase in the mining population. Side by side with this, increased facilities of transport became a matter of necessity. The old bridle-paths supplementing the few main roads, which had sufficed for a purely agricultural and grazing population, were no longer adequate. The first improvements in the means of carriage of heavy merchandise took the form of canals; as for instance the Grand Trunk, joining the Mersey and Trent, opened in 1777; and the Grand Junction, from London to the Midlands, opened in 1792. Then came the improvements in roads under the auspices of Telford and Macadam; and last of all came the railways, the first of which was opened in 1830, to be soon followed by many others. The material way was thus opened to the march of industrial and economic progress within the country itself. And if we look abroad, bearing in mind that a large proportion of the goods sold by the grocer come from over-seas, it is apparent that the application of steam to trans-oceanic transit must have immensely facilitated his receiving his stock quickly, freshly, and cheaply. Thus the grocer

144

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

of the nineteenth century found an enormously increased population, with more money to spend on the luxuries of life, ready to deal with him for many of those luxuries ; and further he was soon to be able to procure his supplies at a merely nominal cost compared with that which his grandfather in the same business had to pay. What wonder, then, that the trade should have gone forward by leaps and bounds, and developed in directions which were never dreamt of by the grocer in the days of George II.

At the same time as the growth of great cities in the Midlands, in Wales and in the North, the spirit of change was coming over the scene as regards the Metropolis of Empire itself. London, the age-long city, and seat of commerce as of government, was both to change and still more wonderfully to grow.

A careful examination of the list of tradesmen and merchants, whose names are arranged in alphabetical order in a London directory for 1805, shows that firms and individuals representing the trade in which we are interested figure in good proportion amongst those of other occupations.

Here and there occur the names of firms still flourishing at the present day, and trading under the same title. There are not a great many of these, though doubtless there are businesses still flourishing to-day which can trace

THE GROCERY TRADE

their connection as far back as one hundred years ago, though the fact of their venerable descent is not generally known.

In 1805, the list contains, for example, the names of Samuel Hanson and Son, Orange Merchants of 47 Botolph Lane, as well as those of J. and B. Hanson, Tea Dealers, 323 High Holborn; and of Benjamin Hanson, 8 Botolph Lane, and Edward Hanson, 27 Pudding Lane, both orange merchants. I need hardly say that the visitor to the same locality now will find Samuel Hanson and Son still installed as green fruit merchants, as well as occupying fine premises at 14 Eastcheap, where they do an immense trade as wholesale grocers. The firm has given some great and influential citizens to London, notably the late Sir Reginald Hanson, Bart., LL.D., who was born in Botolph Lane, then the family residence, in 1840. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1884, and his son Alderman Francis Stanhope Hanson was Sheriff in 1908-9. The present baronet is Sir Gerald Hanson.

Eastcheap, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, could hardly have been called a grocery centre, such as it once was, and such as it has now become. It was occupied by amongst others, oilmen, hardwaremen, wine merchants, insurance brokers, hair and perfumery ware-housemen, plumbers and tavern keepers. There were a number of orange merchants in Botolph

146

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lane and district ; whilst in Mark Lane, Philpot Lane, Mincing Lane and Rood Lane there were a number of merchants of various trades, among them being representatives of that of the grocer.

There was at least one wholesale grocer carrying on business in Mincing Lane. The names " Smith and Travers," Wholesale Grocers, 19 Swithin's Lane, remind us that this is the firm now known as Joseph Travers and Sons, Ltd., and referred to at length in a previous chapter.

So again in other parts of the City one notes that there were several grocers, notably at 149 Cheapside, where Smith and Son traded under the style of " Druggists and Tea-dealers " ; in Bishopsgate Street, where Mr. Lancelot Sharpe (who two years previously had been Master of the Grocers' Company) traded, and whose business is now carried on by Messrs. Barham and Marriage ; and at 44 Fenchurch Street, where Davison Newman and Co. were doing a flourishing business. Further west, at Garlick Hill, we find the premises of Messrs. Keen and Sons, who were busily employed supplying the trade with mustard.

In the Strand, which then, as now, was lined on each side with shops, there were, at the beginning of the century, two belonging to firms who more than a hundred years later are found carrying on flourishing businesses. The first of these is that of the Twinings, Tea Dealers. In 1805, they had already been in existence for

THE GROCERY TRADE

nearly a hundred years, and, as we have seen previously, were among the most eminent firms in the trade. At this date the entry in the Post Office Directory runs : Rich. John and Rich. Twining, Tea Warehouse, 216, Strand. Needless to say, Messrs. Twining are still proud to occupy the same premises. Further along the same thoroughfare in the direction of Westminster, and on the same side of the way, came the shop of "John Burgess, Oilman, 107 Strand." The name of "oilman" alluded to the sale of salad oils, rather than the burning oils with which it is now usually associated. On the actual front of the shop itself, the fascia read, "Italian Warehouseman to H.R.H. the Duchess of Gloucester."

Another oilman of the period whose shop was in the Strand was Hickson, and as would appear from his advertising propensities, he was by no means inclined to allow Burgess to have it all his own way. Then, as now, there was keen competition for the patronage of the public. One of Hickson's advertisements is worth reproducing :

As I traversed the Strand just to take a survey
Of the load that brought Pegasus down,
I found 'twas so large, and so rich the display,
'Tis become quite the talk of the town.
There Hams, Ribs, Dutch Beef, Tongue and Fine
Sausages,
Dutch Herrings, Sounds, Salmon are found,
Parmesan, rich old Cheshire and Chapzigar Cheese,
And famous ripe Stiltons abound.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Anchovies (and Hickson's Anchovies prepar'd)
The finest of Sandwiches make,
His Sauces, and essence for Fish are declar'd
Of a Flavour admir'd to partake,
Maccaroni, oils, Truffles, Soy, Capers, Kian,
The finest Olives, Capers, Mangoes too,
Vermicelli and pickles from France and from Spain
Essence of various herbs and rich bamboo.
Of mustard, fine Vinegars, Spices the chief,
Lamperns, Lobsters at HICKSON'S each morn
(Too much for old Peg') 'twould induce a belief
That there plenty had emptied her horn.

Another sauce which sprang into popularity at this time was Harvey's sauce (the original Harvey dying in 1812). The publication about this period of Harvey's Meditations among the tombs inspired a Fleet Street wag to pen the following amusing lines :

Two Harveys entertained a wish
To shine in different stations
The one invented sauce for fish,
The other meditations.
This to good living is allied,
T'other to holy dying;
This relishes a sole when fried
That saves a soul from frying.

Among the other twenty-six grocers, oilmen and cheesemongers, whose places of business were found in this leading market thoroughfare, the Strand, at this time were also numbered Messrs. Aaron and John Trim, who plied their

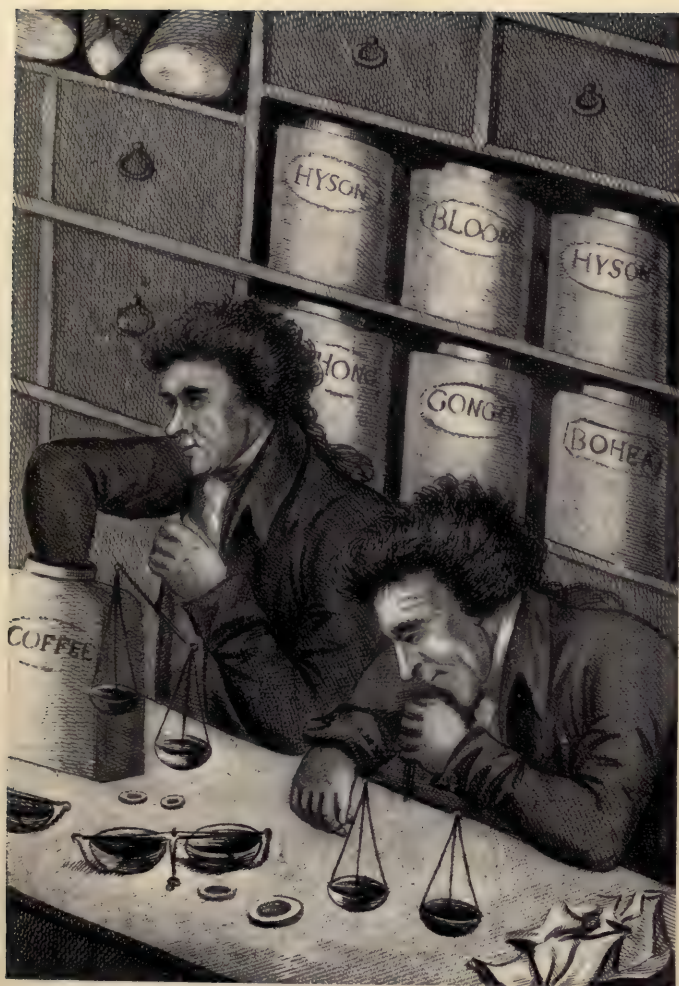
THE GROCERY TRADE

business at No. 449. Messrs. Trim were long known as "the polite grocers of the Strand."

The brothers Trim were born on the premises in the Strand, their father having carried on the business before them for many years, leaving considerable property at his death. The shop was always thronged with customers, the brothers being reputed to sell goods only of the best quality and at reasonable prices, in addition to which they were always exceedingly polite to rich and poor alike. A contemporary picture describes one of the brothers as being "so short as to be frequently under the necessity of mounting the steps to serve his customers." Although rejoicing in an extensive trade, they only employed one young woman and "from the frugality of their habits and the smallness of their expenses, it is universally imagined that they must have accumulated a very considerable sum."

To add to the list of these noted firms is again easy in the case of Antrobus, Green and Russell, who enjoyed the distinction of being "Teamen to His Majesty." Their shop was situated at No. 480.

Leaving this famous thoroughfare and proceeding a little further west, one notes that at 21 Haymarket, Messrs. Barto Valle and Co. were in 1805 established in business as Italian Warehousemen. These, unlike Messrs. Trim and Messrs. Antrobus, Green and Russell, were destined to survive all the changes and chances of the



THE POLITE GROCERS OF THE STRAND
A.D. 1804



THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

century. Their shop is still at the same address and apparently does much the same class of trade with, of course, many additions; whilst at 183 Piccadilly, one finds that Messrs. Fortnum and Son were also carrying on business as Grocers and Tea-dealers. This well-known house still prosecutes the same activities to-day—more than a century later—under the style and title of Fortnum and Mason, Ltd., and occupies an almost unique position among retail grocers in so far as it can claim to have customers in all parts of the world.

The firm was established in the time of Queen Anne in Duke Street, but the business was transferred to the present site one hundred and fifty years ago, and numerous mementoes of an interesting past may be seen at this famous shop, including an order given to Messrs. Fortnum and Mason by Captain Parry in 1826 for the use of the expedition which set out for the North Pole, and a letter from the mother of Miss Florence Nightingale, in 1855, thanking the firm for the 250 pounds of concentrated beef-tea which, by order of Queen Victoria, they had sent out to her soldiers in the Crimea. Here may also be seen the prize medals awarded to the firm, on the occasion of the International Exhibition in 1851, for the excellence of their collection of dried fruits, while royal warrants innumerable adorn the walls.

THE GROCERY TRADE

Instances of grocers now carrying on business, who at the opening of the nineteenth century were already established, could be multiplied from the provinces, especially if the older towns were searched. Thus at Ludlow, a small but historic town of great quaintness, Messrs. Valentine still carry on the business which was established by Mr. S. Valentine so far back as 1757. At the opening of the nineteenth century they were already doing a flourishing business and from an old invoice in the possession of the firm it appears that one of their customers, Sir C. Rouse Boughton, Bart. purchased coffee at 3s. per lb., lump sugar at 1s. 1d. per lb. and anti-acid lozenges at 1s. 1d. The worthy baronet was apparently a slow payer, for, although the goods were bought in 1811, the payment for same was not made till four years later.

Another venerable business, and one still carried on by the same family, is that of Robert Stokes of Salisbury. This business was established by Francis Stokes, the great-great-grandfather of the present occupier, in 1776, and in 1800, the date of our survey, was conducted by Charles Stokes, the son of the founder. Two years previously (1798) his father had inserted an advertisement in the *Salisbury and Worcester Journal* which for candour may be commended to modern advertisers. It ran as follows :

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

“FRANCIS STOKES begs leave to return his sincere thanks to his Friends and the Public in general for the very liberal and flattering support he has experienced since his residence here; and especially acquaints them that he has laid in from the East India Company's last Sale an assortment of fresh and well flavoured Teas which he is determined to sell, free from any adulteration, at the lowest London prices.”

This firm shared with a tea merchant in Edinburgh the privilege of receiving the catalogues of the Tea Sales of the East India Company, these being the only two firms outside London to whom the catalogues were supplied.

Badminton can also boast of a grocery business that was prosperous in 1800, and that still displays indications of a vigorous activity. I refer to the business established in 1784 by Mr. Thomas Cole and which remained in the same family continuously for one hundred and twenty years, the present occupier, Mr. E. G. Drewitt, having taken it over in 1904. One of the present employees is sixty years of age and has been employed on the premises since his boyhood, close on half a century. Up to the present year he had not seen the sea or ridden in a railway train, and the experience gained for the first time within the last few

THE GROCERY TRADE

months has left a vivid impression on the old man's memory. It is still customary for the local undertaker to visit the shop on the occasion of a funeral to hire the "pall," a custom which has been in vogue for nearly a century. This village emporium counts among its customers the Duke of Beaufort.

Reference should also be made to the firm of Messrs. H. H. and S. Budgett, a business which first saw the light at Kingswood, Bristol, a few years before the nineteenth century dawned, and which was subsequently destined to attain much importance through the enterprise and business ability of the saintly Samuel Budgett.

The business was founded by his brother, Henry Hill Budgett, and in 1818, Samuel, who had served his apprenticeship, was taken into partnership. The latter not only developed the business in a wonderful way, by his remarkable energy and enterprise, from a small retail shop, but laid the foundation of a great wholesale house. When Samuel Budgett, the hero of the well-known biography called "The Successful Merchant," died in 1851, he was mourned by a large community, many members of which had experienced his generosity and philanthropy.

Another well-known firm was that established in 1798 by Ambrose Tucker at Christchurch, and which has been handed down from father

N^o.

Kingswood Hill Bristol



I promise to pay the Bearer
on Demand the Sum of **(ONE POUND)**

Value received

1811

For Arthur Jones, Moses Brain
W. H. Budgett & Co

One Pound

End

BANK NOTE ISSUED BY MESSRS. ARTHUR JONES, MOSES BRAIN, H. H. BUDGETT AND CO., BRISTOL
ABOUT 1811 A.D.



THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

to son since. The present occupant has seen the rise and fall of many "houses" in the trade, and distinctly remembers the goods of one of the largest firms of the present day being introduced to his notice in the first instance through the medium of a "commercial" representing another house. The books of Messrs. Tucker and Son record that in 1802 Souchong Tea was sold at 8s. per lb., Hyson at 12s. per lb., coffee at 7s. per lb., loaf sugar at 1s. 1d., currants at 9½d., raisins at 9d., pepper at 3s., mustard at 1s. 6d., rice at 6d., wax candles at 4s. 6d. per lb. and tallow candles at 9½d. The day of the Free Breakfast Table had not yet dawned.

Another well-established business in 1800 was that of John Rowntree, of Scarborough, who at the period we are considering was situated at the corner of Blands Cliff and Carr Street. The business was then twenty years old, and at first drapery as well as groceries were sold. The drapery goods, however, were subsequently dropped, in order to allow the grocery side of the business to develop more freely. The founder was succeeded by another John Rowntree, the father of Mr. Joshua Rowntree, who dying in 1845, the business was taken over by his nephew, the father of the present partners in the firm. It was in 1847 that the business was removed to premises still occupied at 47 Newborough

THE GROCERY TRADE

Street, where the present proprietors were born. Their shop was the first in Scarborough to be lighted by gas, and that the firm has not been lacking in enterprise since may be gathered from a visit to the commanding premises they now occupy.

At Chichester, the year 1800 saw a business already in existence which has come down to the present day. It was founded by a Mr. Hardham, and the old characteristics of the shop may be still gathered from an examination of the premises, the pegs from which the dip candles once dangled in the sight of the customers of those days yet remaining to witness to a bygone fashion. The father of the present proprietor, Mr. Sharp Garland, took the business some fifty years ago from a descendant of the original proprietor.

At Canterbury, again, was a shop (founded 1776) destined to have a flourishing future, it is now in the hands of Fredk. Finn and Co., Ltd. In London at the beginning of the century the business of a Mr. Gilbert (founded in 1789) was carried on at Blackfriars which has since become the nucleus of the shops owned by Mr. A. G. Grantham. Bristol also possessed a shop at this date the proprietor of which was Mr. John Thomas. It was the small beginning of a large wholesale house, now John Thomas, Sons and Co., of that city.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Of course it is not every great manufacturing firm that had its cradle in a grocer's shop, although that origin is, as we have seen, true of many. Messrs. J. and J. Colman's great business is worthy of notice as a product of the nineteenth century. It was founded in 1804, when Jeremiah Colman (born 1777) acquired a mill at Stoke Holy Cross. "Old" Jeremiah, as he was affectionately called, started the business which has been in the hands of his descendants ever since. To-day another Colman of the same name presides most ably over its destinies, namely, Sir Jeremiah Colman, whom the King created a Baronet in November 1907.

Prior to the popularisation of mustard by Messrs. Colman and Messrs. Keen, most of the mustard sold in grocers' shops was known as "Durham" mustard. About 1720, it appears that a native of Durham by name Mrs. Clements first invented the process of grinding the mustard seed in a mill and subjecting the meal to the same process that flour undergoes. Her mustard was brought to the notice of George I., and with the seal of his approval it became popular and enabled the inventor to acquire a fortune.

However, a book could be written on this part of the history of the trade; suffice it to say that the trade has its roots deep in the past in this and many other ways, as we have seen.

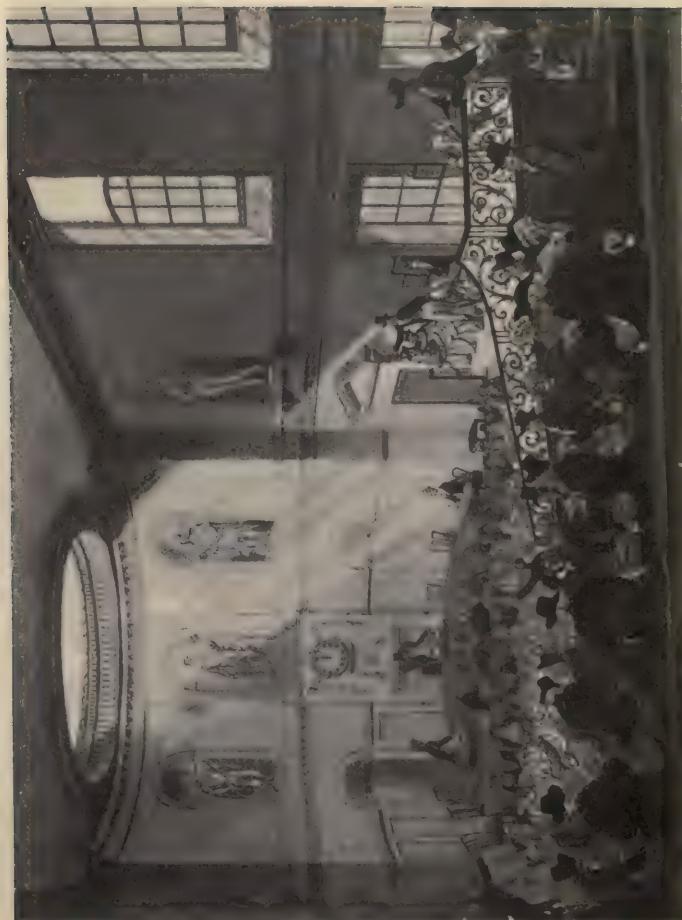
CHAPTER IX

THE VICTORIAN ERA

THE Victorian Era, which opened in 1837, was to see many transformations in the trade. The grocer of that date, unlike his predecessor of the generation before, was free from the local restrictions of towns and cities by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1834; and the repeal of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprenticeship made it no longer obligatory upon youths anxious to enter trade to go through a seven years' apprenticeship.

The grocer was also, at this date, participating in the advantage arising from the termination of the trade monopoly of the East India Company.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the grocer had been compelled to recognise the East India Company as the sole channel for the supply of tea. "John Company" fixed the price, superintended the sales and regulated the quality in an arbitrary way. It had the monopoly of tea in name and in fact. The Company was compelled to hold four tea sales each year, to put up their tea at prime cost, to sell at an



EAST INDIA HOUSE (INTERIOR)

THE VICTORIAN ERA

advance of one penny on the "upset price," and to have always on hand a stock of tea amounting to at least one year's consumption.

Mutterings of discontent against the continuance of the monopoly were already beginning to be heard.

It was contended that the exclusive privileges were incompatible with the principles of a free people, and with the spirit of the great charter. Their dominion over the principality of India, no less than their trade monopolies at home, were exciting the keenest jealousy among a large section of the community, and arguments for and against the continuance of their charter appeared in the columns of the *Times* and other periodicals. One writer in the *Edinburgh Review* described the directors of the Company as "sovereigns and hucksters," "Hamlets and harlequins," "grocers, emperors, cheesemongers and tea-dealers" and finally concluded as follows, "we protest against their being allowed to carry a sword in one hand and a ledger in the other."

The result of this agitation was the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1833, depriving the Company of all its trading privileges, and on August 19, 1834, the first tea sale took place in Mincing Lane.

It was not until some thirty years later that the affairs of the Company were finally wound up, the last act in the drama of its career being a sale at East India House, in Leadenhall Street,

THE GROCERY TRADE

of the furniture, effects, &c., which had filled or graced the premises. The building itself was soon afterwards demolished, and with it the East India Company and its monopoly ceased to be nothing more than a great and interesting memory of the past.

The result of this "Open Door" policy which characterised our legislation at the beginning of the century was seen in the increasing numbers of persons engaged in trade.

As the century advanced, the number of grocers, no longer restricted by the laws and customs of a bygone age, began rapidly to increase and multiply. In 1837, the number of retail shops in London was estimated at 60,000, of which 8500 sold food and 5000 liquors. Two years before, a foreigner on a visit to London wrote in admiration of the shops and added, "The inscriptions and bills in shop-windows sometimes allude to the measures of government. Thus a tea-dealer assures his customers that he will never have anything to do with the 'miserable stuff called free-trade tea'—that is, contraband tea." Monsieur Von Raumer was not quite accurate in his idea of what this "free-trade tea" was when he called it contraband. The so-called free-trade teas were a very inferior species, picked up at Whampou, Singapore, and other unaccredited places by the new free-trade ships, which had swarmed the Eastern seas since the abrogation of

160

THE VICTORIAN ERA

the East India Company's right to trade exclusively in that article.

The numbers of persons connected with the trade in London in 1837 as given by Dobson's London Directory of that year, were as follows :

Grocers and Tea Dealers	1475
Grocers and Cheesemongers	430
Grocers and Oil and Italian Ware- housemen	85
Total	1990

These figures may be compared with those of the licensed victuallers, of whom there were no less than 4035 ; with the bakers, numbering 1982, with solicitors and attorneys, numbering 2011 (to which may be added 1103 barristers), and with the butchers and meat salesmen, who totalled 1492. The number refers to employers only ; and we have no means of knowing exactly how many assistants and apprentices found employment in the shops at this date. Besides those who were described as "grocers" with or without some additional appellation, there were others in various numbers who were connected with the trade, either as merchants or as manufacturing some article dealt in by the grocer and his allied traders.

At this period, while the custom to take apprentices was still in vogue, many of the larger

THE GROCERY TRADE

grocers were employing assistants, or as they were then termed "Journeyman."

At the West End of London they were paid £40 to £60 a year with board, but in the City not so much, unless in the leading thoroughfares, or occupying some special position. The apprentice fee given by respectable persons to a leading grocer varied from £40 to £100. "The trade was," we are informed by a scribe of that day, "more laborious than at first sight may appear, and requires unceasing assiduity in the master and mistress, scarcely any is so certain of making large returns and fair remuneration. Much depends upon the choice of a good thoroughfare, in a populous neighbourhood." Complaint was made then, as now, of persons rushing into trade without sufficient capital to ensure their stability, in particular it was said that this was an evil which adversely affected the general well-being of the wholesale provision trade. It might be easy to buy goods, it was pointed out, but to find customers for them was not so easy, and shopkeepers did not like to change their wholesaler without reason. Hence goods were offered at a low price, competition increased, and the retailer got his supplies cheaply. This for a time made the retailers successful, but they soon began to act against each other when profits were reduced in proportion to prices. The dictum was laid down that great competition in the wholesale

THE VICTORIAN ERA

trade invariably led to ruinous competition among retailers. The retail cheesemonger was said, by the same writer, to require a good deal of talent to enable him to judge of the articles dealt in, and be able to take advantage of the rise and fall of the market by a prudent foresight. At this period, some retail cheesemongers in London imported butter from Holland ; and some even were able to purchase the produce of whole dairies from the Midlands by contract. The ordinary source of supply in London, at this date, seems to have been in the butter sent from the country in "flats" to Newgate market, where it was sold to the retailers by the butter-salesmen (there were seven so described in the London Directory of 1837) who periodically returned the money it fetched to the consignors in the country after deducting a commission for their trouble. Salted butter was also imported from Ireland in large quantities, so that "English fresh," and "Irish and Dutch salt," would be the description of butter handed the customer over the cheesemonger's counter of that day. As to bacon, besides English or home-cured, Ireland was also sending its quota to the London market. It was described as being so well cured as to be quite equal to the bacon from any part of England. It was, moreover, sold so cheaply that its importation was a great advantage to the poorer classes of the population.

THE GROCERY TRADE

It was not usual to take apprentices into the business of the cheesemonger. The boys that were employed to run errands, as they grew up, became shopmen. I feel that I can hardly agree with the writer that there was so little to learn in this business that an apprenticeship was quite unnecessary. It does not seem to have been an attractive trade in those days, being described as a dirty, laborious employment, for which poor wages were paid. I daresay that the manipulation of the Irish butter of those days, especially in the winter time, when the casks of butter heavily salted in the summer had to be turned out and washed, was an unpleasant job, and no doubt, too, the bacon often required a great deal of attention before it was ready for sale. Perhaps, however, this was compensated for by the fact, that a small capital would suffice to enable a person to set up in the business of a cheesemonger. On the other hand, he would be distinctly discouraged by learning that, at that time, the profits were so small that a considerable business had to be done to make it worth the tradesman's while to pursue it at all.

The oilman of the period dealt in an infinite variety of articles for domestic use, as well as in the main ones whence he derives his commercial cognomen. The farther removed from the centre these shops were, the greater the number of trifling articles for sale. This variety was ex-

THE VICTORIAN ERA

tended or otherwise, according to the exigencies of the neighbourhood. His stock would include gunpowder and shot, brickdust, brushes, brooms, blacking and candles, soap, indigo, and soda; brimstone, blacklead, stamps, poor-man's plaster, quack pills, scouring paper, Glauber's salts, starch, bees-wax, lamp-black, size, ochre, chalk, sand, vitriol, freestone and soft soap.

The oils sold by him were of several sorts, including Florence, salad, or nut oil, for the table, train oil for lamps, linseed oil for house-painters and medical applications, &c.

Apprentices to oilmen were, we are told, seldom taken "unless to ensure youths to habits of industry, and keep them from gadding, but boys of good families put to a respectable tradesman should be endowed with a £30 fee at least."

Besides those numerous tradesmen we have noticed who kept shops in London for the sale of groceries and teas, as well as groceries and provisions—the retailers in fact—there were many persons engaged in the various processes which the preparation for sale of the goods sold by the grocer entails. There were, in 1837, wholesale grocers to the number of forty-four, some of whom we have seen remain until this day. Then there were fourteen bacon-dryers, thirty-one egg dealers and merchants, and ten cheese-factors, as well as eight provision brokers. There were also ninety-six colonial, coffee and

THE GROCERY TRADE

sugar brokers, and fifteen tea brokers; besides eleven described as East India and Drysaltery brokers, and nine as drug and spice brokers.

There were no less than thirty-four blacking makers, among whom were, of course, numbered Day and Martin, Warren, who carried on a considerable business in the Strand, and H. Hunt, whose business in the Blackfriars Road was an extensive one. As my readers may know, Dickens as a lad worked at Warren's, which was an old-established firm at that date. In "David Copperfield" he gives us a glimpse of this early period of his life spent in the blacking warehouse at Old Hungerford Stairs. "No words can express," he wrote, "the agony of my soul as I sank into this companionship and felt my hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man crushed in my breast." Blacking balls had been advertised so far back as 1741, "one of these balls," according to the inventor, "with discretionary using being sufficient to serve a single person for twelve months." They were sold at 6*d.* and 1*s.* each, and were circulated by the newsboys of the local papers wherein the advertisements were inserted. We do not know what the composition entitled "blacking" was made of in the case of the thirty-four firms engaged in the trade in 1837. The primitive blacking must have been horrid indeed, as we learn from contemporary evidence that it con-

166

THE VICTORIAN ERA

sisted of a grimy varnish consisting of a compound of train oil and lampblack, which was spread upon the shoes without much previous trouble having been taken to remove the dirt. Shoes and boots thus treated bore their blushing honours thick upon them until the blacking became dry, when they looked worse than ever. During this period the columns of the daily press were freely used by rival manufacturers, and the poets of the day must have had a fairly busy time, if one may judge from the many poetical effusions which appeared eulogising the virtues of various compositions. So early as 1807 the poetical art had been called to the aid of the maker of blacking, and the following extraordinary rhyme appeared in the daily press :

When Hist'ry records in her wonderful page
All the wonders produced in this wonderful age ;
When She classes each Science, each Art, and each
Trade,
Each improvement for use or for ornament made ;
While her eye beams delight ; as the list she surveys,
Of Inventors, all equally meriting praise ;
While doubting whom first from that list she shall name,
Where a West, or a Davy, or Congreve can claim,
She for Science decides—But says Fashion, not so,
I've my fav'rite, there's WARREN, his name you
still know.
His BLACKING so brilliant, in th' annals of Fame
Has long time been enroll'd—there he SHINES the
first name.

THE GROCERY TRADE

What though Ross decks the Head, giving youth to old
age

With wigs of all colours—yet he cannot engage
To polish those heads where oft wisdom is lacking,
As Warren can polish their Feet with his BLACKING !
As promoters of taste, I'm indebted, it's true

To the TAYLORS—their genius deserves praise
from you.

But no cut of a coat can make Fashion complete
Unless WARREN'S JET BLACKING adds grace
to the feet.

Only view its effect ! Can a mirror surpass
THIS POLISH ?—reflecting your face like a glass ?
Not only its polish—it so strengthens the Leather
That the Feet are preserv'd from the damp in wet
weather.

His merit, quoth Hist'ry, I now understand ;
ROBERT WARREN, you say, has remov'd to the
Strand—

An Invention so useful deserves its reward,
So for your sake, dear Fashion, his name I'll
record.

Warren lived at Hendon and came down daily
to his shop in the Strand, where he took off his
coat and worked side by side with his employés.

Twenty-seven years later Warren could report
that his blacking was sold in every town in the
kingdom and he warned the public against
counterfeits. One of his most formidable rivals
at this period was a Richard Turner, who ad-
vertised that “he disclaimed all the arts of
puffing : the merits of the articles are too well

THE VICTORIAN ERA

known to need it." He merely refers to his list of agents and confidently adopts the motto of the immortal Nelson :

Palmam qui meruit ferat

(Let him bear the palm who has deserved it).

Human ingenuity, nevertheless, was busy endeavouring to invent a better blacking, no less than to invent a steam-engine; and it is to an obscure and nameless soldier that the great firm of Day and Martin owes its success. Mr. Day was originally a hairdresser, and he was one day minding his shop when a soldier called and asked relief on the plea that he needed a lift in the coach in order to join his regiment before his leave had expired. The benevolent hairdresser gave the soldier a guinea, whereupon the poor fellow exclaimed, "God bless you, sir, how can I ever repay your kindness? I have nothing in the world but this"—pulling out a dirty piece of paper from his pocket—"It is a recipe for making blacking. It is the best that was ever seen, and many a half-guinea I have had for it from the officers, and many bottles I have sold. May you be able to get something for it to repay your kindness to a poor soldier!" Mr. Day tried the recipe, found the soldier's praise of it true, and soon began to make increasing quantities of the product, thus laying the foundations of a business which has endured

THE GROCERY TRADE

until this day. In 1837 the factory of Day and Martin in Holborn was so magnificent as to be accounted one of the ornaments of that part of the Metropolis; and for his private residence the proprietor had a princely mansion at Regent's Park.

To return to our list of those connected with the trade; there were only seven butter salesmen at the date of which we are treating. There were seven chocolate-makers, and tea, coffee and cocoa-nut roasters. Amongst the list of those who owned and were engaged in exploiting some patent or other, there was included a "Groats and Pearl Barley Manufacturer," and there is no doubt that this alludes to the predecessors of Messrs. Keen Robinson and Co., whose patent groats and barley are still found in every grocer's shop in the country. There was also one pepper manufacturer, but as to whether this entry refers to a man who was a legitimate grinder and dealer in the genuine article, or to one who made the artificial pepper I have elsewhere referred to, I am unable to say. There was one professed semolina and one vermicelli manufacturer in London in 1837, and two macaroni manufacturers. On the other hand there were fifty soap manufacturers, fifteen vinegar-makers, and fifty-one sugar refiners. When many manufacturing processes were carried on in a far more simple and primitive manner than they are

170

THE VICTORIAN ERA

to-day, without the aid of elaborate machinery or the need for mechanical power, it was easier to start in business as a manufacturer. Less capital was required and more constant supervision (for as processes become more mechanical, so less of the human element enters in to vary and make less uniform the total result). Hence the times favoured a larger number of small makers then, and not, as to-day, the concentration of certain businesses in the hands of a few firms. One might illustrate this from the history of candle-making. At the beginning of the century the making of "dips" and "rush-lights," for example, was a simple process effected without the aid of machinery. To-day the production of candles (and "dips" and "rush-lights" are well-nigh, if not quite, obsolete) is carried on by means of the most ingenious and elaborate machinery.

Probably in the early years of the century the practice was widespread, and so the grocer, and still more the oilman, was to some extent a manufacturer, so far as some of the necessities of his own stock were concerned. There were, as a matter of fact, 636 oilmen, and oil and colour men, among the tradesmen of London at this time, as well as 186 oilmen and Italian warehousemen. Of course, mineral oil and petroleum had not yet been introduced, the first boring not taking place in America until 1859. Thus

THE GROCERY TRADE

the oil and colour man then lacked the principal article of commerce which he now deals in.

Before leaving this list, mention must also be made of the fourteen mustard manufacturers, and of sixteen firms or individuals who made emery and glass paper, and dealt in blacklead. Among these should be reckoned Mr. W. G. Nixey, who a few years later invented the process and art of compressing the hitherto powdered lead into solid blocks, and proved himself to have a very full share of advertising genius for that early period, by booming his invention in a remarkable and indeed, to our forefathers, a startling way. There were fifty-one sugar-refiners in London at this time, many of whom were located in Whitechapel. Their work was the refining of raw sugar brought in hogsheads from the West Indies and from the Mauritius.

There were doubtless in the same district many "dry-coopers," so called, not because they abstained from the delights of the tavern, but in opposition to the "rundlet-coopers" who made casks capable of holding liquids. The "dry-cooper" was principally employed in making sugar-hogsheads and other casks for the conveyance of dry goods. The sugar-hogsheads, now practically obsolete, held upwards of a ton of sugar, and were sent out new to the West Indies packed with clothing, hats and other commodities, and returned filled with the

THE VICTORIAN ERA

sugar then mainly produced in those possessions of the Crown. This was in the days before the beet-sugar industry had made such inroads into the West Indian trade. Whilst Whitechapel was thus the scene of the sugar industry, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe were odorous with the makers of glue and with soap-works. The northern districts contained the principal retail businesses, and the Strand was still lined with shops on both sides, from which the grocer had not as yet departed.

By 1836, Eastcheap had become the centre of the grocery world. At that date there were forty-six wholesale grocers with premises in the immediate vicinity, eighteen retail grocers, five retail tea and coffee dealers, sixty-four wholesale tea and coffee merchants, and sixteen pickle and Italian warehousemen. A few of the names which appear in the directory of 1836 from which these numbers are taken are still familiar to us as those of houses in the trade of to-day, including Messrs. Peek, Brothers and Winch, and Messrs. Petty Wood and Co. An example of the large sums given as apprenticeship fees in the early Victorian period may be illustrated by the case of Mr. William Wood, of the latter firm (recently deceased), the premium paid in his case being £200.

CHAPTER X

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

WHAT kind of man was the grocer who attended to the wants of the British public in 1837 ? He was described by a contemporary writer as one " who formerly sold the articles in which he deals much in the same state as he bought them." ' Of late years, however, we find he breaks or grinds his coarse sugars in a wooden mill ; he grinds to powder and mixes also a variety of warm spices, ready for the use of families and confectioners ; he also adapts his teas to the various tastes and pecuniary means of his customers, and by thus converting one set of substances into another, is, in fact, a *part manufacturer*."

The authority just quoted, however, is not quite accurate in stating that the grocer had only just begun to manipulate his goods. As we have seen, for instance, tea-blending was always, and almost from the first, practised by the grocer and tea-dealer ; spices, too, had to be cleansed and prepared for sale at all stages of the trade's history.

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

As illustrating the trade of the grocer of this period, I have before me as I write the printed catalogue issued by Messrs. C. Stokes and Son, of Salisbury. It is a small pamphlet of sixteen pages, of which twelve pages are given up to enumerating the goods sold by this firm. The catalogue quotes eight kinds of tea, four kinds of coffee, eight kinds of cocoa and chocolate, and various spices, pickles, vinegars, soaps, candles, &c. There are few proprietary articles referred to, the only ones mentioned being Cock's Essence of Anchovies, Cock's Reading Sauces, Burgess's Essence of Anchovies, Burgess's New Sauce, Harvey's Sauce, Worcestershire Sauce, Sir Hans Sloane's Chocolate, Dunn's Soluble Chocolate, Strickland's Broma, Price's Composite Candles, Johnson's Patent Old Brown Windsor Soap, Price's Belmont Wax and Sperm Candles. There are no Indian or Ceylon teas, biscuits, jams, potted meats or tinned fruits, all of which have been introduced since. We also look in vain for the mention of any of the large manufacturing firms whose names are now household words.

To obtain anything like an adequate conception of the distance we have travelled since, we have only to compare this miniature grocery list of the 'thirties with the present-day list of a representative family grocer such as Fortnum and Mason. Their current list runs into one hundred and twenty-four pages, and the front

THE GROCERY TRADE

page announcements, that they are exporters and purveyors of the highest class groceries and provisions, and importers of the produce of all countries, convey some idea of the contents. The contributions of America to this grocery emporium are indicated by no less than eight pages being devoted to American specialities. Teas from Ceylon, China, India and Japan, peppers from Chili, Peru, Hungary, Spain and the West Indies, olives from California, Italy, and Spain, soups from France and Queensland, jams from Natal and Toronto, conserve from Portugal, biscuits from Denmark, as well as countless productions of English manufacturers, give one some idea of the cosmopolitan character of a modern grocer's shop as compared with that of the modest establishments to which our forefathers were accustomed at the date of the late Queen's accession.*

As to prices and profits in 1837, it was no un-

* As regards Indian tea, Sir Joseph Banks, in 1788, had pointed out that tea might successfully be grown in India. It was not, however, until 1823 that a Mr. Bruce made public the information that the tea-plant grew wild in the district of Assam. Later, in 1826, he made an expedition into Assam and brought back specimens of the plant. This aroused the attention of the Indian Government; during the next few years inquiries were made, and, in 1835, the first tea-garden was planted in Assam. Four years later the Assam Tea Company was formed.

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

common thing for sugar to be retailed at a profit of 2s. 6d. per cwt. for raw sugar ; and at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on the finest loaves ; although the intermediate " lump or ill-refined " afforded a better return than this.

It would seem almost that the cutting of sugar prices was not by any means unknown at this date, especially as we learn that many grocers continued to do a ready-money business by taking a small profit while buying goods for cash, or on a very short credit.

The hours of closing the shops at this date were much later than in the preceding century, this change being primarily due to the introduction of gas. It was no uncommon thing for a youth in the trade to begin his day's work at seven o'clock in the morning, and to continue his labours until ten o'clock or later at night.

At many business establishments the day's work was begun by family prayers, in which the apprentices and assistants joined, a custom yet continued in a few grocery houses where the living-in system is still in vogue.

My readers are probably familiar with the old story of the employer and his apprentice :

" John, have you watered the vinegar ? "

" Yes, sir. "

" Have you sanded the sugar ? "

" Yes, sir. "

" Then come in to prayers. "

THE GROCERY TRADE

For the honour of the trade it is well to point out that this story is a highly improbable one, although some support may be lent to it by the remarks on adulteration in the concluding portion of this chapter.

By this date the "commercial" traveller had become a familiar figure on the road, and it was no longer necessary for the grocer to pay a visit to London to make his purchases. In 1839, we have a well-nigh contemporary picture of the riding traveller. He was said to be dowered with an honest plainness of speech, without ostentation, and of quiet dress and unassuming bearing. Business, wardrobe, and toilet necessities were carried in a pair of saddle-bags. On arriving at a country-town, the traveller would put up his horse at the commercial inn or hotel, (and many of these still linger on in much the same style) and leisurely go the round of his two or three customers. At night these customers would often join the commercial circle at the inn, and sup with the travellers afterwards, consuming much punch and, in general, having a time of great conviviality. The observer of that day, himself a commercial gentleman, registers the complaint that even in 1839, commerce was much hastened and was beginning to be done at railway speed, to keep pace with the excessive competition of the times.

Here is a contemporary impression of "a
178

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

grocery" commercial traveller, "Mr. Saccharine, Worldsend" and his appearance and demeanour:

"He breakfasts, peruses the news of the day, scans his correspondence and then, having rearranged his samples as per advice from the House, he is ready for trade. He is cheerful, full of health, and has the air of being confident of success. He sallies out into the town and commences his avocation with his usual alacrity; his trade appurtenances, his legitimate and illegitimate sweeteners of the bitter cup of life (or strong Bohea) within his grasp, intelligence sparkling in his eye, perseverance stamped on his front, an inflexible firmness in his manner, every citizen knowing his occupation, and all men recognising him, from his fixedness of purpose and businesslike pretensions, to be an eager, zealous, bustling, commercial traveller. In fine, he possesses the essentials of a man of business, not always so thoroughly amalgamated as possible, viz., those of the Man, the Tradesman, and the Gentleman."

During this period the trade was rapidly changing its character and increasing its numbers, but human nature unfortunately remained much the same as in previous centuries. As I have shown in former passages of this book, the Grocers' Company and its officials had been frequently called upon to charge, and fine, sellers of defective wares.

THE GROCERY TRADE

The ample records of the Grocers' Company of London show, year after year, that grocers here and there were fined for selling such goods as spent ginger, adulterated pepper and other spices. But as the eighteenth century ran its course, the powers of the Grocers' Company and its connection with the trade declined, the office of garbler was abolished, and so supervision from that quarter ceased to be exercised.

Whilst in the first twenty-five years of the century, there are but few traces of cases of adulteration having been detected and punished, there is not much doubt that the practice, aided by fuller chemical knowledge, was increasing. That this was the case is apparent from the widespread character and prevalence of the "art," discovered when public attention was directed to it later. It proved that the practice had been growing, and that it was not the product of a few years. In September 1825, a case in the Lord Mayor's court gives some indication of a rather crude attempt at adulteration. Mr. Clarke, of Apothecaries' Hall, reported that upon analysing some sugar he found that it contained about half its weight of common salt, ordinarily sold at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. He also referred to the practice of some grocers at that period grinding sugar and coffee together and retailing the product at the price of genuine coffee.

The high duties with which pepper was charged

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

(2s. 6d. per pound at the beginning of the century, reduced in 1825 to 1s. and in 1837 to 6d.) also tempted the adulterator to practise his art to an enormous extent; and so late as 1866 Mr. Gladstone gave as one reason for the repeal of the duty on pepper, the expected repression of the system of adulteration until then prevalent.

The temptation to adulterate tea, referred to previously, was occasioned not so much by the monopoly of the East India Company, or by the high prices at which tea was then sold, as by the exceedingly high duties which were imposed. It is only fair to say here that most of the adulterated tea was made in this country, for whilst the tea trade was exclusively in the hands of the East India Company, but little adulterated tea was shipped to England. The company kept a staff of experienced inspectors at Canton, whose duty it was to examine all tea before it was shipped to this country. They were instructed to reject all tea that gave the slightest indication of having been sophisticated in any way. Hence whatever adulterated tea, or tea substitute, found its way into the grocers' shops was, as we have already seen, the product of the misplaced ingenuity of producers in the kingdom itself, or else was smuggled into the country from the Continent. In spite of the heavy penalties, adulteration of tea was assiduously practised during the early part of the

THE GROCERY TRADE

nineteenth century, and in 1818 the public were startled by the disclosure of a regular manufactory of fabricated tea. Labourers and others were hired to gather the leaves of the white- and black-thorn tree, for which they were paid at the rate of 2*d.* per lb. Several convictions took place, and one defendant was fined £500 for manufacturing one hundredweight of sloe leaves, one hundredweight of ash-leaves, and one hundredweight of the leaves of another tree in imitation of tea. The sensational evidence given at this and other trials produced a most extraordinary impression, and, to quote the words of one writer, "a feeling of horror seemed to pervade the whole court."

In one case a petty farmer was arrested who had been actively employed in making spurious tea from black and deadly night-shade, ivy-leaves, elder-leaves and potato-leaves, the first two deadly poisons, and the others decidedly injurious to health.

It is but fair to add that the more respectable tea-dealers denied all knowledge of this practice.

But when Free Trade was established in tea, *i.e.*, when Parliament abolished the monopoly of "John Company," the case became different. There is no doubt that more adulterated or "faked" tea found its way into England, and especially was this the case with green tea. As we have seen, tea was extensively adulterated

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

in the first half of the last century. In spite of the heavy penalties of 1818 and following years, adulteration continued to be practised, and in 1843 many cases which involved the sale of re-dried tea-leaves were prosecuted by the Inland Revenue. In this year there were eight manufactories for the purpose of re-drying exhausted tea-leaves in London alone, and several besides in various parts of the country. The *modus operandi* was to employ persons to buy up the exhausted leaves at hotels, coffee-shops, &c., at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $3d.$ per lb. These were taken to the factories, mixed with a solution of gum and re-dried. After this, the dried leaves, if for black tea, were mixed with rose-pink and black-lead to face them. These fabricated leaves were seldom sold alone to the public, but were used to mix with genuine tea. A few years later, the *Times* of May 1851 records a case against a certain Edward South and his wife, who had been detected in the manufacture of spurious tea on an extensive scale at No. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ Clerkenwell Close. The report reads: "There was an extensive furnace, before which was suspended an iron pan containing sloe-leaves and tea-leaves, which the defendants were in the habit of purchasing from coffee-shop keepers after being used. The officers, on searching the place, found an immense quantity of used tea, bay-leaves, and every description of spurious ingredient for making illicit

THE GROCERY TRADE

tea, and they were mixed with solution of gum and a quantity of copperas." The evidence showed that the prisoners had pursued their nefarious traffic most extensively, and were in the habit of dealing largely with grocers, chandlers and others, especially in the country.

Nevertheless the great bulk of the black teas sold, such as the Congous and Souchongs, were genuine. On the other hand, what we may call the "fancy teas" were largely adulterated. The black tea known as Scented Caper, and Scented Orange Pekoe were invariably found to be glazed and faced with plumbago, and sometimes with a little Prussian blue or indigo, turmeric, and sulphate of lime or China clay. Not only were the native tea-leaves thus "improved," but Scented Caper, or Chilam, was often adulterated with "Lie-tea," paddy-busk and foreign leaves. As for green teas, it was stated that the *whole* of these as retailed in the shops were coloured. In fact it was alleged that in this country there was really no such thing as a green tea—that is, a tea which possessed a naturally green colour.

But tea was not the only adulterated article which found its way into the grocers' shops at this time. The medical profession had had its attention aroused on the subject, and in particular Dr. Hassall became particularly active in this direction. The celebrated medical publication,

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

The Lancet, in 1850 appointed an "Analytical Sanitary Commission" to inquire into the adulteration of food-stuffs and drugs. The reports of this commission were published at frequent intervals in the *Lancet* from January 1851 to December 1854, in the course of which particulars of 2387 analyses were set out, of which 2063 were of articles of food, and 324 of various drugs. The *Lancet* adopted the bold step of publishing the names and addresses of the traders from whom the samples of goods for analysis had been procured. The effect of this publication was great, especially as some damaging exposures were also being made before a Parliamentary Committee then sitting. Of course, at the same time it served to give a good and well-merited publicity to those traders and firms whose goods were found to be pure and above reproach.

About this time, the subject of adulteration came before the House of Commons. A select Committee of the House was appointed, and sat for two sessions. In their report, the Committee said that the evidence they had heard showed the prevalence of adulteration; and had rendered, in their opinion, legislation imperatively necessary. The report goes on to notice that the excuses for adulteration were that the public tastes had to be met; that, for example, the addition of colouring matter (as annatto to cheese, bole-armenian to sauces and potted

THE GROCERY TRADE

meats, copper to preserved vegetables) improved various articles ; that it was necessary in order to make the articles keep ; that it was impossible to supply the genuine article for the price the public were willing to pay ; the harmlessness, and so forth. The real reasons for adulteration were, however, said to be desire of increased profit, and unfair and excessive competition.

Now as to the guilty parties : in some cases these were the manufacturers, in others the retail dealers ; but it not infrequently happened that the retail dealer was very unwillingly the victim of the former, and the onus of having sophisticated certain goods must be laid upon the shoulders, not of the grocer, but of him from whom he drew his supplies. An interesting case in point relates to a firm whose name is still that of a flourishing concern in the trade of to-day. Messrs. Ridgway and Co., of King William Street, forwarded to Dr. Hassall some flake-cocoa for examination. This was found to be adulterated with wheat-flour. Messrs. Ridgway, on learning this, stated that they purchased the best cocoa-beans they could procure, and sent them to the manufacturer to be made into flake-cocoa, which should consist of nothing but cocoa. The manufacturer had abstracted some of the cocoa and had replaced it with wheat-flour. Messrs. Ridgway afterwards erected a mill on their own premises and made their own flake-cocoa.

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

We may be sure that this is a typical case, at any rate of the anxiety of the best element in the trade to sell to the public an article which should be of the "nature, substance and quality" it was represented to be. That adulteration was not the actual work of the retail grocer, however much he may have fostered its practice and made it necessary on the part of manufacturers, by the demand for cheap but attractive goods, is certain from the nature of the case. More often he was more deceived himself than deceiving, more sinned against than sinning.

I have already dealt in this connection with tea. To pass on to another article of the grocers stock, round which much controversy has raged, viz., coffee. At this date (1851) it was scarcely possible to procure a sample of ground coffee, no matter what the price paid or where it was purchased, that was not largely adulterated. Of course the main adulterant was chicory, the use of which was imported from the continent, where it was first employed solely for the sake of cheapness, and not because of any preference, nor because it improved the flavour of coffee. Unfortunately, in 1841 a Treasury Minute had given a sort of quasi-sanction to the sale of chicory and coffee without requiring the mixture to be so described. In 1850, nine years later, the Government began to require that a mixture of coffee and chicory should

THE GROCERY TRADE

be labelled as such. The further history of this point belongs to that of the various Food and Drugs Acts.

Duckworth, of Liverpool, actually took out a patent for moulding chicory into the shape of coffee-berries.

Chicory was, however, not the only adulterant of coffee—the very chicory itself was in turn sophisticated in some well-authenticated cases. For this purpose, roasted grain, roots, acorns, sawdust, especially mahogany sawdust, “coffina,” oak-bark tan, exhausted tan called “croats,” and even baked horses’ livers were employed! There cannot, to conclude this part of the subject, be much doubt that the small popularity of coffee in England compared with tea has been influenced by the use of chicory. The grocer who would cultivate his coffee trade should made good note of this fact.

Another important article of consumption, which has perhaps lent itself more to the art of the skilful sophisticator than any other, is butter. It was not however until science had made great progress in the handling of food-stuffs that the adulteration of butter was much practised. At the middle of the last century, margarine and mixtures were apparently not yet invented. On the other hand, the art of adding a large percentage of water, and thus increasing the weight, was understood. There was a very little

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

adulteration with starch, usually potato-flour, curds, and occasionally, but not frequently, with the fat of veal and with lard. At this time a very large proportion of the grocers had not ceased to buy their butter on the open market, direct from the farmers who produced it. The factory or dairy system had not yet attained to any importance. Thus water and salt in excessive quantities were the main ingredients by which the purchaser of butter was defrauded.

In a letter to the *Lancet*, dated June 1853, Mr. Robert Miller, a butter-factor, throws some light on the practices then prevalent. "The adulterating process," he says, "is to bring the butter to the melting-point, then to stir it in water and salt until the mixture is cold. Fifty per cent. of water may be incorporated with butter in this way." Mr. Miller also hinted that if you happened to buy "Repacks" (Irish), "Black Jacks," or "Bosh" (Dutch), you might find on investigation that you had got something which was not butter in all its virgin purity and freshness.

The writer further alleged that from forty to fifty thousand casks of adulterated butter were annually sold in London, and "the trade knew it as well as they knew a bad shilling." At this date the word "margarine" and the earlier term "butterine" had not been invented.

As for a still later substance—"milk-blended"

THE GROCERY TRADE

butter, that is to say—there is a curious letter extant, dated 1853, which shows that this method of treating butter was not unknown over fifty years ago. I think it is really worth giving *in extenso* :

“ Having taken apartments in the house of a butterman, I was suddenly woke at three o'clock one morning with a noise in the lower part of the house, and alarmed on perceiving a light below the door of my bedroom ; conceiving the house to be on fire, I hurried downstairs. I found the family busily occupied, and on my expressing alarm at the house being on fire, they jocosely informed me they were merely making EPPING BUTTER.

“ They unhesitatingly informed me of the whole process. For this purpose they made use of Irish salted butter of a very inferior quality. This was repeatedly washed with water in order to free it from the salt. This being accomplished, the *next process was to wash it frequently with milk*, and the manufacture was completed by the addition of a small quantity of sugar.

“ The amateurs of fresh ‘ Epping Butter ’ were supplied with this dainty, which yielded my ingenious landlord a profit of at least 100 per cent., besides establishing his shop as being supplied with ‘ Epping Butter from one of the first-rate dairies.’ ”

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

“Epping Butter” was, so far as my investigations have served to show, the earliest ancestor of “milk-blended” butter.

Another article dealt in by the cheesemonger and provision merchant was lard. In 1857 our supplies of lard were derived principally from Ireland. Part also came from America and from Hamburg, whilst London and the chief provincial cities had their refineries of home-rendered lard. American lard was stated to have been not generally adulterated when freshly imported. Adulteration, when practised, took place subsequent to arrival at the hands of manufacturers in this country. The adulterants were potato-flour, mutton suet and water, whilst such chemicals as alum, caustic lime, carbonate of soda, carbonate of potash, and salt were added for the purpose of sweetening bad or rancid samples and for keeping those that were stale.

Of the other articles sold by the grocer at this period, spices were largely the subject of adulteration. Mustard was very generally far from pure. Of this article, 2000 tons were annually sold in the United Kingdom, but a large proportion of it was sophisticated with wheat-flour, pea-meal, and even linseed meal, highly coloured with turmeric and smartened up with a little cayenne. The analyst at Apothecaries’ Hall reported that even plaster of Paris was found in some samples.

THE GROCERY TRADE

As to pepper, the excise authorities reported that from an examination of 1116 samples during twelve years in the first half of the nineteenth century, 576 had been found to be adulterated. The *Times* of May 10, 1852, stated that a grocer of Chelmsford had been prosecuted and fined £50 for having in his possession a cask of 100 lbs. of so-called pepper, 98 lbs. of which were the husks of mustard and rice, the remaining 2 lbs. only being pepper. The powdered husks of mustard, the sweepings of pepper stores known as "P.D." (pepper dust), and even a compound known as "D.P.D." (dust or dirt of pepper-dust), were sold wholesale for the express purpose of adulteration. Artificial peppercorns were not unknown. These were made of oil-cake, common clay, and a little cayenne, formed into a mass and granulated by being pressed through a sieve and then rolled in a cask. The adulteration of pepper was, as I have noted, fostered by the excessive duties imposed on this article. It is reported to the credit of Samuel Budgett, of Bristol, that his conscience so smote him one evening on discovering a cask of "P.D." in his shop, that he rolled it off the premises to an adjoining quarry and, breaking open the cask, scattered the contents to the four winds.

After the black-list, it is a ray of light to read that cheese was not subject to adulteration, on the one hand, nor sugar on the other. It is an

192

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

old joke which is, occasionally, good-humouredly cracked even to-day, that the grocer instructs his apprentice to mingle sand with the sugar. Previous to 1850, when much of the sugar sold resembled that known to-day as "pieces"—a coarse brown variety, which might just conceivably have lent itself to adulteration of this kind—it was found that there was little foundation for the tales we hear about the presence of sand in sugar.

But it is time to leave this not very savoury but necessary part of my subject. Before I do so, however, I may note that the Committee of the House of Commons, referred to above, in its report recommended that local authorities should be empowered to appoint inspectors and also scientific analysts under the General Board of Health to whom the authority might refer when they thought fit. No recommendation was made at this time concerning drugs, although it had been abundantly proved that drugs of all kinds were even more subject to the arts of the sophisticator than articles of food.*

It is with a certain amount of pleasure that

* The first general Act against Food Adulteration was passed in 1860. It was of a permissive character only, and its object was but poorly attained. In 1872, and again in 1875, other Acts were passed, the latter of which, with those of 1879, 1899 and 1907, are still in force.

THE GROCERY TRADE

I turn from this question of adulteration in the trade to an event of far more pleasing significance, namely the formation of a trade benevolent society. It was in 1836 that the old spirit of benevolence which had characterised the grocers of preceding centuries, and which found an outlet through the Grocers' Company, began to re-assert itself, and a meeting was held at 1 Laurence Pountney Hill on November 14 in that year and attended by, among others, the following grocers and tea-dealers, William Dennis, Robert Major Hotham, Thos. Colley, Isaac Anderton, and William Fort. These well-wishers to their trade recognised the necessity for some common bond of unity, and adopted a resolution to the following effect :

“ That this meeting, fully sensible of the great importance and utility of Benevolent Societies, . . . are convinced of the necessity of an Institution among the Grocers and Tea-Dealers, whereby the honest but unfortunate may receive protection and consolation in the last years of their troubles and infirmities. That a Society be therefore formed under the title of the Grocers and Tea Dealers Equitable and Benevolent Protection Society.”

It was also resolved to create a fund and invite the co-operation of respectable grocers and tea-dealers. A further meeting was held

194

THE EARLY VICTORIAN GROCER

on November 29, when a provisional committee was appointed, and George Garraway appointed secretary, a position he retained until 1864.

The promoters of the society little foresaw the great oak that was about to grow from the small acorn they planted in November 1836. Through the funds of the Society over five hundred pensioners have been relieved, no less a sum than £125,000 having been paid out to unfortunate members of the trade. At the present time, seventy-seven pensioners are being assisted in their old age, the disbursements for the last financial year of the Society amounting to £2459. This record is a striking tribute to the forethought of the men who met together seventy-three years ago, when competition was not so fierce, and when the forces against which the family grocer had to contend were devoid of that aggressive spirit which has been such a marked characteristic of the trade since the introduction of the co-operative movement and the multiple shop system.

In 1845, nine years after the formation of the Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Fund, the Worshipful Company of Grocers reached its five-hundredth year of existence, and the Court of the Company decided to celebrate this unique event "in a manner which shall uphold the Company's character for benevolence and for hospitality."

At a meeting held on July 22, it was resolved

THE GROCERY TRADE

‘that the perpetual provision of a sound and religious education free of all expenses for a certain number of boys would be the most satisfactory way of permanently commemorating the completion of the fifth century since the foundation of the Company.’ £10,000 of the Company’s stock was therefore set aside for this purpose, and six presentations to Christ’s Hospital were subsequently purchased.

The Commemoration Festival was held on May 9, and one of the events of the evening was a song sung by a Mr. Machin, in the chorus of which the whole company joined. One of the verses ran as follows :

What a host of bright names to remembrance endear’d
In our annals are proudly recorded !
By the voice of the Citizens justly revered,
By their gratitude justly rewarded.
Here Judges, and Statesmen, and Peers are arrayed
With Heroes renowned in all ages !
And hands which the Sceptre of Britain have swayed
Have been pledged to the oath in our pages !

The song then concluded :

CHORUS

Then send round the bowl
Which enlivens the soul !
We’ve a subject which makes the heart glow, Sirs ;
Fill high to the toast
That we all honour most
The Church, the Queen, and the Grocers !

CHAPTER XI

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

THE Act of Parliament which abolished the monopoly of the East India Company in 1833 was the preliminary to many other political changes of the century which proved of enormous benefit to the trade.

There can be no doubt that the introduction of Free Trade into our fiscal system, or rather the complete revolution of our fiscal system which is symbolised by that name, did more for the expansion of the grocer's sphere of activity than any other measure ever passed. As an authority (Mr. J. Innes Rogers) has said, "sixty or seventy years ago not only were groceries out of reach of even the better-off workmen, but these commodities were the happy hunting-ground of Protection." Of course, groceries had been no exception to the general rule that all imports should be taxed; and in addition until then very recently, as I have shown, tea—the principal commodity sold by the grocer—had been in the hands of a monopoly, the East India Company,

THE GROCERY TRADE

which enjoyed the sole right to import the fragrant leaf into these islands. There were different duties on foreign and on colonial goods, which varied with the sources of supply and of production. These heavy duties crippled the consumption of groceries and kept out of the reach of the poorer classes most of the luxuries, and many of those things which have since become the necessities of life, as sold by the grocer. The grocer had been, up to the year 1846, at any rate, far more the minister of luxuries to the rich. Since that date—whilst remaining that—he has gradually been becoming also in greater degree the distributor of necessities to the poor, counting now as necessities those articles that were once quite beyond their means.

Now the principle of Free Trade, or rather of free imports, was adopted in 1846, as regards grain, and extended in 1849, and from that time onwards, by the passing of various measures which left certain articles—such as tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, &c.—dutiabie merely with a view to the accumulation of the necessary revenue, and with no idea that the duty should be protective. From 1846, then, the consumption of groceries rapidly increased, and especially in the quantity consumed per head of the population. This is very noticeable in the case of tea, of rice, and of sugar, as well as in other leading articles of the grocer's trade. The most note-

198

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

worthy exception is coffee, in the use of which at the present day—compared with the year 1846—there has been a considerable falling off.

The following Table will be more eloquent in support of the proposition that Free Trade has been of benefit to the grocer and to the consuming public than any words which could possibly be included in this book :

THE CONSUMPTION OF LEADING GROCERIES IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1845 (THE LAST
YEAR OF "PROTECTION") AND IN 1908

	TOTAL WEIGHT		WEIGHT PER HEAD OF THE POPULATION IN lbs.	
	1845	1908	1845	1908
Cocoa, lbs.	2,589,000	56,566,515	0·03	1·27
Coffee, cwts.	266,000	260,675	1·23	·66
Tea, lbs.	44,193,000	275,239,751	1·59	6·18
Currants and Raisins, cwts.	514,000	1,821,456	2·07	4·58
Rice, cwts.	1,000,000	7,080,948	4·4	17·18
Tobacco, lbs.	26,162,000	90,027,033	0·94	2·02
Sugar (Raw), cwts.	4,856,624	30,408,722	19·58	76·45
Sugar (Refined), cwts.	6	(Total Sugar	Nil	
Molasses and Glucose,		in equivalent		
cwts.	627,532	of Refined)	2·51	
Total of Sugar, &c., cwts.	<u>5,484,162</u>	<u>30,408,722</u>	<u>22·09</u>	<u>76·45</u>

The Table applies to the chief articles of grocery used in 1845. Since that year a vast number of

199

THE GROCERY TRADE

minor necessities have been added to the stock of the average shop, and indeed the grocer of to-day hardly knows where to draw the line, so many are the manufactured articles continually presented to him by the ingenuity and enterprise of the leading firms. On the provision side, whereas in 1845 butter, cheese, bacon, eggs, fowls, &c., were offered to the public in the open markets by the farmers themselves, to-day there is a vast import trade in all these goods and the grocer, or grocer and provision merchant, is the medium through which they reach the consumer. In this department alone the amount of turnover, comparatively speaking, now handled by the trade must have enormously increased—perhaps in many cases at the farmer's expense it is true, but nevertheless in response all the time to the people's needs. In 1845, the spice trade was trivial, the prices were high and but few people used spices. To-day the poorest use either spices or goods in which spices form an ingredient, and as for pepper and mustard, these are part of the dietary of the humblest frequenter of the "coffee-shop" or the poorest diner in his own house. No doubt the vast increase in the prosperity of the trade is due to the general well-being of the community, which in turn is the fruit of the industrial and commercial development which has gone on for the past hundred and fifty years, a development which has been

200

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

fostered and largely made possible by the fiscal policy deliberately adopted in the memorable year 1846. The prosperity of the trade is also shown in the immense increase, within living memory, in the number, size and variety of grocers' shops, in the establishment of great corporations for carrying them on, and in the incomparably larger number of assistants employed. Even in the country villages, the increased demand for groceries has made itself felt, and some quite respectable shops may be found therein with stocks which would have excited the open-eyed surprise of the village shopkeeper of sixty or seventy years ago.

Still pursuing the subject of the effect of duties, protective or otherwise, on the grocer's stock and sales, I may note that to trace the history of this illustrates the principle that free imports mean unfettered trade. In 1833, the consumption of tea was only $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per head of the population. No sooner was the East India Company's monopoly abolished than the consumption of tea began to rise.

As the century grew older, and the duty was made easier, whilst India began to send larger quantities of tea, the consumption increased until in 1852 (duty 2s. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb.) it stood at 2 lb. per head. The Crimean War necessitated a higher duty, and the consumption was temporarily checked. Later on, when peace had

THE GROCERY TRADE

been restored and the financial effects of the war were passing off, Mr. Gladstone, as we shall see, reduced the tea duty. In the meantime he turned his attention to sweeping away the last remains of the tariff, so far as the duties which had had their origin in protection were concerned.

The idea of a commercial treaty with France was in the air in 1859, and out of this treaty grew the whole of the great financial scheme of 1860. This year was an eventful one for the grocery trade, the Budget being awaited by all the great commercial interests involved with quite unprecedented expectancy. Gladstone was at the national Exchequer, and the country expected great things, but no section of the country more than the grocers. Of the 1052 articles of all kinds liable to Customs duties in 1842, 419 were still on the tariff list. A clean sweep was to be made of 371, leaving but 48 articles subject to taxation.

The speech in which the great Chancellor outlined his proposals was a marvellous exhibition of eloquence. The proposals themselves were looked on with favour by almost every section of the trading community. Currants, for instance, were one of the articles the duties on which were made less than half, and the proposal excited such a lively interest in Greece that Mr. Gladstone was told that if he were to appear therein he could divide the honours with Bacchus and

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

Triptolemus, its already famous benefactors. Of grocery articles, the duties were abolished altogether on the following: almonds, dried apples, butter, cheese, candles and capers, spices, eggs, dates and mustard, liquorice, nuts, onions, oranges and lemons, sauces, soy, soap and washing balls. The duties on currants (15*s.* 9*d.* per cwt.), on raisins and figs (10*s.* per cwt.), were made uniform at 7*s.* per cwt., whilst a duty of 4½*d.* per cwt. was continued on macaroni and vermicelli.

A duty of 6*s.* per cwt. was imposed for the first time on chicory, in order to avoid its operating against the revenue received from the duty on coffee; whilst the existing duties on tea (1*s.* 5*d.* per lb.) and on sugar (13*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. for refined and 10*s.* 7*d.* for brown) were left as they were for fifteen months.

The principles of the Budget had been affirmed in the House by a majority of 116, and the grocers were radiant.

In 1863 Mr. Gladstone reduced the tea duty to 1*s.* per lb., and to 6*d.* in 1865, when the consumption rose to 3¼ lb. per head of the population.

It is the circumstance which attended that significant event with which I must next deal.

It was in the Budget of 1865 that this most important change was made by Mr. Gladstone (the then Chancellor of the Exchequer). It was hailed as advantageous both to retailer and to

THE GROCERY TRADE

the public, the feeling of the trade being expressed in the following lines :

No bumper of Burgundy fill for me
To drink to the health of the Chancellor G.
But pledge in the cheapen'd, the fragrant Bohea
To the man who reduced the duty on tea.

The change in duty had the virtue of being the product of Mr. Gladstone's own clear perception ; and although it meant at first a loss to all those who held duty-paid stocks, and could not clear them at the old prices in the few weeks before June 1, 1865, the day the new duty came into operation, yet the universal cheapening of tea which it made possible, was to be of the very greatest importance as a factor in the unparalleled developments which the trade has witnessed during the years which followed. There have been minor changes in the duty since, but of small effect compared with this one. The tea trade, as we know it, practically dates from that portentous first of June referred to.

But before tracing some of the developments which the trade has undergone within living memory, we must first glance at another subject of almost equal significance with that just mentioned. The middle of the nineteenth century witnessed much controversy, marked by many prolonged and heated discussions over sugar. Previously to the successful agitation which brought in Free Trade, the principle regulating

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

the sugar duties was based upon a preferential treatment of the Colonies. Differential duties were the rule, of varying character and amount, it is true, with regard to raw and refined sugar, and with regard to that from our own dependencies, especially the West Indies, and the sugar imported from foreign possessions and the continent. Thus, in 1836, the duties on East India sugar which had been for some years 32s. per cwt. were reduced to 24s. per cwt., whilst the duty on foreign sugar was maintained at 63s.

Sugar, before Free Trade came in, was the subject of continual fiscal experiments, the object being to increase, if possible, the supply without infringing the natural monopoly of the West Indies; whilst, at the same time, making the article contribute its quota to the National Exchequer. In 1841, sugar—whose fate it is to be itself dissolved—acted the novel part of a solvent. It actually dissolved Parliament and occasioned the downfall of a Ministry. Mr. F. T. Baring, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had proposed in the Budget that the duty on Colonial sugar should remain at 24s.; whilst that on foreign should be lowered from 63s. to 36s. The proposal caused an immense sensation in the sugar trade. Opposition meetings were held in London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow, the chief seats of the sugar-refining industry, organised by

THE GROCERY TRADE

those in favour of the monopoly ; and the result was that, after a debate in the House, lasting for eight nights, the Ministry found itself in a minority of thirty-six, and Parliament was dissolved. It is interesting to note at this date Sir Robert Peel, afterwards a Free Trader, spoke against the admission of sugar from such foreign colonies as Cuba and Brazil, on equal terms with that from the British East, and West Indies, and Mauritius, from which places, he affirmed, sufficient sugar could be obtained without resorting to the supplies from slave colonies.

In 1844, the first steps were made towards Free Trade in sugar. After an interesting debate in the House it was resolved that sugar from any country which could be certified as free-grown (*i.e.*, without the aid of slave-labour) might be admitted at a reduced duty of 34*s.* per cwt. and 5 per cent. ; at the same time as the West Indies had preferential treatment by a duty of 24*s.* The reason for this was the growing demand, which the West India Islands were becoming powerless to cope with.

Space fails me to do any more than barely mention the fact that from 1844 to 1854, Parliament provided for a gradual diminution of, and also an equalisation of the duties, although not without much agitation for and against the policy. In the latter year, the Crimean War served to stop the projects of those who would

206

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

cheapen sugar to the masses of the country, who were demanding bigger supplies. In 1854 the Finance Act provided that all sugars from whatever source should be treated alike; but at the same time a graduated scale of duties *according to quality* was introduced. The best refined paid after August 2, 16s. per cwt., and other qualities varying rates, down to 11s. The next year sugar had to help pay for the war to the tune of 3s. more per cwt. In 1857 a gradual diminution of duties for the next three years was adopted, so that, in 1860, when Mr. Gladstone was Finance Minister, the duties stood at 13s. 4d. for refined and 10s. 7d. for brown sugar. Mr. Gladstone, in his Budget of that year, renewed the duties for fifteen months, sugar being one of the fifteen articles imported on which a duty was maintained for the purposes of revenue.

Again, with sugar, reduction of duties meant greater consumption, the increase in 1844-48 having been from 17 to 23 lb. per head, which latter figure had still further increased to 34 lb. per head in 1854. No sooner, however, had the Russian War occasioned an increase in the price through higher duties, than the consumption dropped to 30 lb. (1855). In 1856 there was a further fall of 2 lb. per head consumption, with the lower duties of 1858, again rising to 34 lb. In 1864 the average consumption was larger than ever before in the history of

THE GROCERY TRADE

the trade, standing at 42 lb. per head of the population.

In that year, as the day when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to present his Budget to an expectant House and country drew near, the subject of the sugar duties received enormous attention. The position, briefly, was that in 1862 a Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the operation of the sugar duties. Before this Committee and elsewhere the sugar refiners objected to any alteration—they wanted the sugar duties to favour the importation of large quantities of raw sugar, rather than that of ready-refined, as was only natural. On the other hand, the wholesale grocers, not to speak of the vast body of retailers, desired that the duties should favour the cheapening of sugar, mindful of the fact that low prices favour consumption and brighten up trade.

The Committee recommended that the scale of duties should be revised, but the hour had not quite struck for this. In 1863, Mr. Gladstone reduced the duty on tea by 5*d.*, but it was not until the next year that he touched the question of sugar.

In the meantime the trade, apprehending the coming change was once more agitated to its centre. In March 1864 a crowded and uproarious meeting was convened at the London Tavern, by those who were in favour of an equalisation

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

of the sugar duties. The list of those attending included the names of eight Members of Parliament, and many well known in the trade, even of to-day. The wholesale grocers, however, did not have it all their own way, for a strong body of sugar-refiners and their supporters attended in force and ultimately captured the meeting. The resolution, which was supported by Mr. Smith Travers (J. Travers and Sons), among others, affirmed that differential duties upon the varying qualities of sugar were opposed to free trade, and were prejudicial to the interests of consumers because tending to keep out foreign-refined sugar, and fostering the supply of raw in the interests of the British refiners.

The refiners, judging by the contemporary report, had packed the meeting and Mr. Travers, who claimed to represent not only the wholesale but the retail trade, was received with hisses and general disturbance. He however spoke at length, although at the conclusion of the meeting the resolution was lost by a hundred to one. The opposition, led by Mr. Fairrie, immediately held a second meeting, whereat an amendment was passed in favour of the maintenance of this scale of classified duties.

At the same time, the sugar-refiners were busy circulating numerous pamphlets in support of their cause, one of which was a fiery-red handbill intended to strike the eye and shake the belief

THE GROCERY TRADE

of those who had learned to distinguish between "protection" to some fifty or sixty sugar-refiners, and the public benefit.

Mr. Gladstone propounded his Budget on April 7. He dealt with the "abstruse and involved" subject of sugar in a masterly way, and his proposals, which were adopted, were that the duty on refined sugars should be reduced from 18s. 4d. to 12s. 10d., whilst that on other qualities should undergo a corresponding diminution. A proposal the next month to limit the new duties to one year was negatived.

The country had now been assured of cheap groceries, Mr. Gladstone having freed the breakfast table (so far as protective duties were concerned); and almost every legislative obstacle to the free development of the trade had thus been removed. It was not merely that the grocer would be able to supply the rapidly growing demand for sugar sold across the counter—to which the cheapening, and its consequent greater popularity and more lavish use, much contributed; but he was also to feel the excellent effects of cheap sugar in many other directions. For instance, one in particular, the introduction into the country of foreign-refined sugar at reasonable rates was to enable the vast industry of jam-making to be founded. Jam-making is of course dependent on sugar. In order to have sugar at a low price, free importation is essential; and it has been

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

said, by those who know, that Britain heads the world in jam- and confectionery-making because of her policy which allows sugar to enter the country duty free.

These trades had but modest beginnings, and but insignificant progress could be made until the Continental beet-sugar, ready refined for use, was freely admitted into the country. The British refiners (there were fifty-one in London alone at about the year 1840) had been content to turn out a sugar poor in quality and in colour and quite unfit for preserving. However, the jam-makers, in spite of the duties of the forties and fifties, managed to exist, and indeed to lay the foundations of a future trade of a magnitude then undreamt of.

Foremost among these firms may be mentioned that of Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell, which in 1841, the year following the removal of its place of business from King Street to Soho, where it now stands, embarked upon the manufacture of jam. Previous to this date jams had been made only on a small scale by confectioners, for families in those days almost invariably made their own preserves, as well as their own bottled fruits and jellies.

That jam-making developed rapidly is proved by the statement made in 1865 that this one house alone was using as many as 450 tons of fruit annually; since that time its yearly con-

THE GROCERY TRADE

sumption has reached several thousand tons. This was a fair instance of an enterprise profiting by the Free Trade Budgets, for a pot of preserves for which one formerly paid 2s. at the pastry-cooks' subsequently could be bought for 9d.—and that of an infinitely superior and far more wholesome quality.

In the year 1850, the wholesale manufacture of table jellies was commenced, and proved equally successful, so that what with these additions to the previously extended sauce and pickle business, which had been carried on since 1706, it is not surprising that further extensions became imperative in 1842, when a new manufactory was opened at the back of the premises, while in 1857, an adjoining music-publishing house had to be purchased, and given up to the export trade alone. These great London manufacturers stand on ground that is at once celebrated and notorious in history. One of the houses devoted now to the head office was formerly the mansion of Lord Falconbury, the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, and the room set apart for the private counting-house of the firm has its ceiling richly carved in oak, which is black with age, whilst opposite the desk of the head of the establishment is an elaborate and quaint old oaken mantelpiece with gilt canopies. On either side hang large pieces of tapestry, which are in a fair state of preservation.

The other house absorbed by this business was

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

originally the once splendid residence of the celebrated Kenelm Digby, a naval commander and writer in the time of Charles I. This, however, in later years, when the decadence of the once-fashionable neighbourhood set in, became known as the "White House," kept by the notorious Mrs. Cornelly, where *roués* and profligates, abounding in the days when the "finest gentleman in Europe" sat upon the English throne, were wont to resort.

Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell's establishment, dating as it does from 1706, is the oldest house of the kind in the trade. Originally the business was commenced, at the time when every street round about was crowded with mansions of the nobility, by Messrs. Jackson and Wyatt, in King Street, Soho, at the corner of the passage leading to Newport Market; and here it continued till the year 1840, when the premises at the corner of Sutton Street were taken, and the old "White House" pulled down for the erection of a new extensive factory, where mountains of sugar are consumed and rivers of vinegar are drained dry.

Not the least interesting feature of this vast commercial undertaking is the manner in which it sought to discover whether "honesty is the best policy" is really among the canons of worldly welfare. For the honour of humanity it is on record that in this instance "the success was only commensurate with the endeavours of

THE GROCERY TRADE

the firm to deal conscientiously with the public, and to get rid of all adulterations of the articles manufactured by them."

It will be remembered what a sensation was created by the *Lancet's* report of the Hassel inquiry previously mentioned, and it redounds to the great credit of this house that they were the first to abandon the dangerous process which produced the poisonous verdigris.

Mr. Thomas Blackwell, the grandfather of the present chairman of the company, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1855, replying to the question, "Have you abandoned the method?" said: "After the articles appeared in the *Lancet* some four or five years ago, we abandoned it as far as possible. We had iron vessels made which were coated with glass, and likewise we had one silver vessel made, but we found the silver would not do. The acid and the salt together turned everything black, and we could only use it for what required acids alone."

Replying to further questions, Mr. Blackwell said: "In the first instance we found a considerable diminution, and particularly abroad. Parties wrote to us to say they requested their goods green as formerly. Now they are satisfied, and we do not have the same difficulty." How well the practice of conscientious dealing with the public has paid is best illustrated by the present pre-eminent position which the firm enjoys.

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

Then there is the firm of Messrs. Keiller and Son. In 1855 Mr. Alex. Keiller, a native of Dundee, extended his operations by a splendid stroke of business. He had long thought how he might circumvent the sugar duties, and he at last perceived that the Channel Isles would furnish him with a free market. He established factories there, where he could use duty-free sugar, and soon he found that no British or foreign firm could compete with his free export of confectionery, jam and similar goods. Until the sugar duties were abolished in Great Britain in 1874, Mr. Keiller's exports practically ruled the world's markets in this class of produce.

The total abolition of the sugar duty took place in 1874. It is characteristic of Mr. Gladstone that before dealing with this question he should have, in 1873, addressed the following letter to Messrs. Fortnum and Mason from Carlton House Terrace :

“ I have often heard that it is the custom of grocers and all who deal in sugar to sell that article upon rather bare profits as compared with the usual and what may be called regular profits of trade.

“ Would you kindly give me the advantage of hearing on authority whether this is so ? . . .

“ Your faithful servant,

“ W. E. GLADSTONE.”

THE GROCERY TRADE

With the abolition of the duty, the development of those firms of jam, confectionery and preserve makers whose names are household words in the trade to-day, received an immediate impetus. It was about this time that the statesman just mentioned uttered his famous recommendation to the British agriculturist to turn his attention to fruit-growing, in order to provide the other element in the making of jam.

About the first to take up this suggestion in real earnest was Mr. Stephen Chivers, of Histon, Cambridgeshire. He was the earliest fruit-grower to supply the grocery market with jam. His motto was "Straight from the orchard to the factory, and be quick about it," and this enterprise having established for Messrs. Chivers and Sons a great reputation as jam-makers, the firm followed up this success by entering into competition with the American canned fruit trade. With rare prophetic judgment, Mr. John Chivers, J.P., so perfected his preparations that, by the process in vogue at Histon for the canning, nothing of the delicacy and deliciousness of the English fruit is permitted to be lost.

As to sugar itself, granulated had not yet been introduced. Best loaf, received already cut, was sold at 4*d.* per lb., and a second quality, cut on the premises with an old-fashioned sugar chopper from the pyramidal sugar-loaves, was sold in smaller quantities at 3½*d.* The apprentice

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

had to spend two days a week at this exhilarating work of sugar-chopping. Best Demerara was $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., no "yellow crystals" were then thought of, and "pieces," a brownish soft moist sugar, was $3d.$

It is to the abolition of duties on sugar, and to its increased production, that such firms as Messrs. Jas. Keiller and Sons, Ltd., Crosse and Blackwell, Ltd., Clarke, Nickolls and Coombes, Ltd., and Batger and Co. themselves attribute in large measure the possibilities of expansion which their own capable and statesmanlike heads have not been slow to make the best use of. And the same may be said of the great cocoa firms, Messrs. Cadbury Bros. Ltd., J. S. Fry and Sons, Ltd., Rowntree and Co., Ltd. and others. No sooner did really cheap sugar offer itself than they were able to put upon the market, and get into the grocers' hands for distribution to an eager and waiting public, extensive lines of confectionery and chocolate goods, which could be sold at a remarkably reasonable price. The result has been an increasing demand for such goods, more and more hands have been employed, a far greater capital has been invested; and, in addition, such industries as fruit-growing in our own country and the production of cocoa in many of our colonies, as in the West Indies, have been most happily promoted. Another factor which assisted in

THE GROCERY TRADE

the work of supplying the grocer with cheap and excellent jams, chocolate, confectionery and other sugar goods was the introduction of machinery. The early confectionery was restricted mainly to boiled sugar goods of the "toffee" and barley-sugar, the acid-drop and bull's-eye variety—and but a few hundredweights even of these would be turned out weekly by even a large factory. Now it is no uncommon thing for a factory to be a busy hive wherein upwards of a hundred thousand pounds' worth of machinery is in continuous operation. And side by side with an immense home trade, the export trade has also grown in a manner worthy of the nation with the biggest foreign trade in the world. British jams and confectionery, in spite of a tariff amounting to about 40 per cent. of their value, find their way to the United States; German fruit and sugar are re-exported to that country in the form of preserve, in spite of a heavy tariff (I understand that Messrs. Jas. Keiller and Son have now established factories in the Fatherland); the same is true of France; and Dutch sugar is returned to Holland in the shape of British confectionery.

Sugar remained absolutely free of duty from 1874 until 1901. In the latter year a duty amounting to 4*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. of pure sugar on all sugar imported, whether as sugar or in such manufactured articles as condensed milk, or

THE COMING OF FREE TRADE

preserves, was reimposed. It has since been generally agreed among those who use the largest quantities of sugar in their manufactures that, by the imposition of the tax (amounting to nearly $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.), a severe blow was dealt at all trades using sugar as a raw material.

It is not without interest to note that in 1873 the term "Gladstonian grocers" was contemptuously applied to the trade by a London daily.* The now familiar "grocer's licence" had been some years in operation, and the appearance of a page advertisement in the *Times* giving the names of 1700 grocery agents of a certain wine and spirit firm had roused the wrath of the organ of the "trade," which predicted that the new departure would send the grocer's tea business "to the dogs."

The prophet failed to take into his calculations the fact that common sense and sobriety were already ranging themselves on the side of the "cup that cheers but not inebriates."

* *Morning Advertiser.*

CHAPTER XII

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND THE GROCERY TRADE

WITH the sixties, we are reaching that period in the history of the grocery trade when the retailers began to feel alarmed at the growth of the co-operative movement. The nineteenth century is the period during which co-operation arose, and flourished, after many failures and many struggles, until it attained to the enormous proportions which we see to-day in actual existence. The co-operators aimed at being their own grocers and provision merchants, as well as their own tailors and drapers ; in fact, wished to monopolise under their own peculiar system every kind of distribution, whether of food or other necessities ; and therefore some account of the rise and progress of co-operation is not without its bearing on the trade with which I am more intimately concerned.*

The earlier attempts at co-operative trading—

* In 1794, Dr. Shute Barrington (Bishop of Durham, 1791 to 1826) described by Holyoake as “the first co-operative bishop,” opened a village shop at Monge-
220

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

if they were really such—have but little bearing upon the subsequent history of the system. It was not until the nineteenth century that the movement was to be permanently established. In 1828, Owen, the reformer and philanthropist, advocated the founding of “stores” whereat goods should be sold to members and others at the usual market prices, and the profits applied to the establishment of co-operative communities. Owen’s recommendations were adopted in many cases, and by 1830 there were numerous stores established, a few of which have continued to exist down to our own time. In 1832, the Co-operative Congress defined what co-operation really was, laying down, as it were, the principles of the system as they understood it. It was resolved that the capital of the

well, Oxfordshire, wherein goods should be sold to the villagers for cash, with only the net cost of distribution added to the wholesale price. An infirm old man, unable to read or write, was engaged at 1s. per week to look after the shop. Including £7 11s. 3d. for carriage and £2 12s. for salary, the goods bought during the first year of the experiment amounted to £223 14s. 2d., for which sum they were sold, less a loss of 15s. due to selling soap and candles at 1d. per lb. under cost.

In 1795, Rev. Dr. Glasse opened a similar store at Greenford, Middlesex, whilst Rev. Geo. Glasse tried a like experiment at Hanwell. At the former store, if any member of a family were absent from church on a Sunday the whole family was debarred from purchasing for a week.

THE GROCERY TRADE

society should be rendered indivisible; and (which is important in view of subsequent failure) "*that any trade society which paid a dividend could not be identified with that congress of the co-operative world.*" In spite of the congress, however, most of those early attempts at founding stores collapsed within a short time. They had met with much opposition from the merchants and traders, as was natural. Parliament gave no protection to their funds; but most significant of all, they paid no dividend. This is where the "Rochdale Pioneers," who founded their famous store in 1844, were wiser in their generation. It is true that the profit-dividing store was not unknown before this date, there having been several established at various times, as at Devonport in 1818; Bridgeton, 1828; Stockport, 1832; Glasgow, 1836; and Almondbury, 1840; but the first real success fell to the lot of the Rochdale weavers, whereby also they became entitled to be called the fathers and pioneers of the movement. The objects and plans of the society they founded were declared to be: to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefit and the improvement of the condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of £1 each, to bring into operation this among other plans, viz., "The establishment of a store for the sale of provisions, clothing, &c."

The Rochdale store began in a very small way,

222

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

but it was not long before increasing success and popularity attended it. This success was largely due (as the authorities of the movement themselves admit) to the fact that they shared with the consumer the profits of the trade done. The system of limiting the interest paid on capital, and of sharing the profits, that remained after this interest was paid, with customers in proportion to their purchases, attracted the public. In other words, the magic word "divi" sums up the main reason for, and secret of, the success of the co-operative movement. I think I may be pardoned for seeing but little difference in principle between this and any other form of commercialism.

At first, dealers refused to supply co-operators for fear of offending their other customers; and capitalists and merchants did all they could to prevent societies making good bargains, and threw every obstacle in their way. But those who had goods to sell wholesale, and manufacturers, could not, as a rule, long afford to keep up this attitude; and as the stores came to be an outlet for all kinds of produce so they found no difficulty in obtaining it. Moreover, the societies had the advantage of the advice and encouragement of the clever men known as the Christian Socialists, viz., Maurice, Kingsley, Hughes, Veale, Ludlow and others.

The Rochdale Store was founded in 1844.

THE GROCERY TRADE

Eighteen years later considerable progress had been made in founding stores in other directions. Thus a Parliamentary return of the year 1862 shows that there were at that date 450 co-operative societies in existence with a membership of 90,000. Their capital aggregated £450,000 and their annual sales £2,350,000; whilst their profits for the year amounted to £166,000.

The next year saw the origin of another type of trading which has certainly had its effect upon the history of the grocery trade of the past fifty years. Alteration, progress and reform—all these often occur through pressure of influence from without. So it was with the trade. The establishment of co-operative stores exerted a great influence in the transformation of that trade, as, for instance, in the setting up of the multiple-shop firms, trading for cash, and the cutting of prices. Whilst the effect of the co-operative societies, of which, as we have seen, that at Rochdale is the type, was most felt in the north; in London the foundation of the Civil Service Supply Association, and other similar concerns, exerted a powerful influence.

The origin of the civil-service or “cost price” system, as it has been called, was also one of small beginnings. Some post-office clerks took it into their heads to combine to buy a chest of tea and distribute it among themselves at cost price. The great saving effected led to other

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

articles being similarly dealt with. At first 6*d.* tickets of membership were used in order to acquire capital ; but these were afterwards raised to 2*s.* 6*d.* The thing grew until eventually the society thus formed was registered with 10*s.* shares. Substantial profits resulted from the mutual buying and distributing—it can hardly be called trading—thus inaugurated, and these profits were, of course, the common property of the members.

The original shares of 10*s.* each were found after a time, from accumulated profits divided among them, to have earned the enormous return of £80 per share. By an alteration of the rules, each 10*s.* share was converted into eight £10 shares, thus increasing the value of the original 160 times. In 1899 there were in the Association 4986 shareholders holding 35,480 shares. Tickets imparting the right to deal at the Stores were issued to 8920 civil servants and to 25,903 friends. The sales for the half-year amounted to £857,000 and net profits to £21,302, whilst the assets were valued at £533,427. The “C.S.S.A.” is said to be the only society of its kind registered under the same Act as the “Rochdale Pioneers”—and there the resemblance ends.

The genesis and mode of foundation of the co-operative stores may be best learnt from the recommendations drawn up by the authorities of the Co-operative Union, for the guidance of

THE GROCERY TRADE

those who might wish to start a concern of the kind. The first act of a number of men wishing to start a store should be to apply to the Co-operative Union, who would thereupon send down a representative to assist them by submitting a draft form of rules which, with the addition of a page or so suited to the locality, could be adopted, and then registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. The nucleus of original projectors is then to set about enrolling members, who take up £1 shares, payment being by instalments at the rate of 3*d.* per week per share and upwards. The members are advised not to start in business before they number one hundred, or before the capital amounts to £150, and sufficient trade to pay expenses is assured. Then comes the crux of the situation; after the store has been floated, there is the difficult duty of managing the business. For this a Committee is appointed. Probably, however, none of its members have had to manage a shop before, and know nothing about buying and selling tea, coffee, sugar, candles, soap or anything else. But after a little practice (it is naïvely said), and advice and assistance from the central body, they soon fall into the work.

The new amateur traders are all along being coached by some one from the Central Board of the Union, and the Co-operative Wholesale

226

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Society advises the management of the new stores as to the first order for goods.

Nothing is said here about the necessity for engaging men of experience to manage and assist in, *e.g.*, the provision and grocery departments of the store! One would imagine that shop-keeping required no training, but could be successfully conducted by a board of amateurs whose previous experience had been confined to weaving, engineering or boot-making. As a matter of fact, however, such success as has attended the grocery departments of the co-operative societies has been largely due to men who have been trained in the grocery trade having taken service with the stores.

But to return to the recommendations and directions for the starting of stores. At the end of the first quarter's trading the accounts are to be balanced up, and the amount of profit ascertained. Interest on capital is usually limited to 5 per cent., *counted as an expense* and not included in the profit, as it is usually in the case of a joint-stock company. After providing for depreciation of property, and for the reserve fund and all expenses, the balance is divided among the customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases at the Stores. Suppose a trade of £1000 with £100 profit: the customers who have spent the £1000 are paid 1s. for every pound they have spent. A man with a large

THE GROCERY TRADE

capital invested gets no more dividend than a man who has only £1 in the society *provided his purchases are only to the same amount*. It will thus readily be seen that there is a good deal of inducement to people to make their purchases at the Stores, especially if the prices are maintained at much the same level as those which obtain at the ordinary traders' establishments. To this division of profits, called, in contradistinction to the "interest" paid on capital, the *dividend*, the movement owes its success. It may be added, too, that purchasers at the "stores" need by no means be members, *i.e.*, hold shares in the concern; yet all customers alike receive dividend, if they like to claim it, upon the total of their purchases.

Thus it is evident that the establishment of co-operative concerns has been a powerful and formidable policy, as against the legitimate trader whose capital is invested in his business, and whose endeavour is to make enough interest upon it to live upon first, and to save with, if possible, afterwards. Moreover a complaint, not without foundation, often heard from lips of the trading community is, that the co-operative societies contrive to evade their just share of the public burdens. Mr. A. J. Giles put the point very forcibly at a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce on March 4, 1909, when he said, "These co-operative traders receive all

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

the services rendered by the State to other commercial communities without paying their just share through the income-tax."

No trade has felt the competition of the co-operative store more keenly than that of the grocer and provision dealer. I have in my mind's eye the largest and most successful store established in the South of England. It has several branches, at each of which the departments devoted to groceries, provisions, and the oil and colour and sundries trades are, if not the most flourishing portion of the business, yet conspicuous by the number of hands employed, by the large stock carried, the space devoted to them, and to the general activity observable in connection with them. And when the periodical accounts are published, the turnover and profit in these departments vie with that of any other in bulk. The Society to which I have referred is the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, founded at Woolwich, and it may be useful here to set down the figures relating to this society as some indication of the interests involved. (I append also for comparison those of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.)

	Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society.	Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.
Number of members	26,935	14,985
Share capital	£298,229	£296,084
Loans	£41,115	£24,515

THE GROCERY TRADE

	Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society.	Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.
Reserve fund	£27,665	£9,167
Value of stock-in-trade . .	£68,613	£41,357
Value of land, buildings, machinery and fixed stock	£112,848	£51,883
Investments: house pro- perty	£188,226	£65,313
All other investments . .	£34,372	£186,726
Owing to the Society for goods	£1,377	£2,296

Number of employees.

Distributive	688	240
Productive	221	113

Salaries and wages.

Distributive	£39,485	£14,574
Productive	£15,900	£7,929
Sales during year . .	£514,366	£340,930
Net profit	£50,128	£59,507
Interest on Share Capital .	£12,296	£10,583
Average dividend per £ .	1s. 3½d.	3s. 3d.
Bonus on wages . . .	£2,845	None.

Subscriptions.

Educational purposes . .	£932	£585
Charitable purposes . .	£295	£177
Co-operative Union . .	£70	£57 7s. 4d.

Finally, to sum up, the official figures presented to the Fortieth Annual Co-operative Congress in 1908 show that at the end of 1907 there were 1443 retail distributive co-operative

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

societies in existence, having a membership of 2,323,378. The shares held amounted in value to £29,038,649. The trade done in 1907 totalled £68,147,529, whilst the profits are represented by the sum of £10,899,332. The report of the Co-operative Union does not tell us how much of this trade was in the grocery, provision and allied departments.

Side by side with the growth and extension of retail co-operative trading has been that of the wholesale societies whose object is "to supply the Stores with honest and unadulterated articles at fair prices, thus avoiding the merchant and middleman." As early as 1832 such a society was founded at Liverpool. It did not last long. Again, in 1850, a society was founded in London through the influence of the Christian Socialists before mentioned, but also without success. In 1863 the Co-operative Wholesale Society was registered as the North of England Co-operative Industrial and Provident Society, Ltd. It began business next year in Manchester with a capital of £999, and began supplying about fifty retail societies. In about six months its capital had increased to £2450, and its further progress was equally rapid. In 1872 a banking department was opened. To show the progress made, a comparison may here be given between the figures relating to the society at different dates :

THE GROCERY TRADE

	1877.	1901.	1907.
Societies holding shares . . .	827	1092	1139
Turnover. . .	£3,000,000	£17,642,063	£24,786,568
Net profit . .	£65,541	£334,467	£560,325

The rate of dividend paid in the pound in 1901 and 1907 was 4*d.* There is as well a Scottish Wholesale Society which was registered in 1868, and this also has shown a large and continuous growth.

It is only natural that the grocer should view with hostility and alarm these trespassers upon the domain of retail trading. In Scotland, for many years, strenuous and organised opposition has been offered to the movement. In 1886 a Traders' Defence Association of Scotland was instituted, the primary objects of which were "to inform the public, by lectures, literature, &c., of the injurious effects of Co-operative and Civil Service Stores on the trade of the country," and "to bring before the Legislature the unjust burdens which traders have to bear in comparison with co-operators in reference to the income tax."

This Association has for the past twenty-three years, through the medium of meetings, literature and correspondence in the press, conducted a continuous campaign against the spread of the movement, one of its ablest leaders being a well-known Dumbarton grocer, Mr. John Macphie, F.G.I. With Mr. Macphie are associated such

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

prominent Scottish traders as Mr. Robert Mowat, Mr. John Allen (Glasgow), Mr. Thos. Spears, F.G.I. (Glasgow), and Mr. Andrew Malcolm.

The movement continues to be regarded with much apprehension, and so recently as 1908 the Bournemouth grocers devoted a special evening to discuss the subject "How to Combat the Co-operative Movement." The chief speaker contended that co-operative trading constituted a serious menace to that private trading to which the phenomenal prosperity of the country was so largely due, and without which it would speedily, in his opinion, degenerate into a subordinate position among nations. He was further of opinion that as all traders were affected by this form of competition, the different trades and federations should take up this question and thoroughly organise their forces to fight the movement.

Another speaker expressed the opinion that co-operative trading was pure selfishness, for it aimed at the extinction of the private trader. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. Lewis Friendship, while feeling that this was one of the burning questions of the day for private traders, was of opinion that too much noise was made about it, and that there had been too much advertising of the system by the open discussion of the problem by traders.

Mr. John Macphie contends that this policy of

THE GROCERY TRADE

silence is most unwise. "I hold," he wrote, "that the principal reason why co-operative trading got such a hold on a section of the people of this country, is the policy of silence which has been adopted by the traders against the tactics I have given examples of, when they should have been up and doing as a compact body emphatically denouncing such slanders, and proving to the public at large that the very opposite is the truth. Some people hold that to speak of co-operative trading is to advertise it. But while I confess to having met individuals holding, or I should say expressing, such opinions, I have not yet met one who could give me any logical reason in defence of them, nor do I now expect to find such. I submit that those who give vent to such expressions have either not studied the question at all, or are not personally affected by it.

"What I hold is that co-operative trading *cannot afford to be advertised*, and that *there is not a plank in its programme which can stand the searchlight of ordinary business scrutiny.*"

That Mr. Macphie has the courage of his convictions is evident from his declaration that "as an individual trader I can beat the representatives of this system of trading in my district by 25 per cent., or to put it plainer, I can give the same quantity of groceries of equal quality for 20s. as can be purchased at the local co-operative stores for 25s."

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

That all is not well with the co-operators is evidenced by the statement of the President of the Co-operative Union, Mr. W. R. Rae, who, speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne on May 31, remarked that "immediate gain, devotion to financial success, and the folly of reckoning progress in profit had bred something like rivalry, and even competition, among their battalions."

While the private traders are resenting the competition of the co-operative societies, the co-operative societies in their turn are fearing a possible contest with the multiple-shop companies, who may conceivably in the near future decide to unite their forces in a gigantic trust.

CHAPTER XIII

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

WITH all these movements going on in the trade, it is not unnatural to find that a need was felt for chronicling and reporting events, and guiding trade opinion.

As yet, although much less generally and universally important trades than that of the grocer had had their special organs to advise them on business operations, to advocate their interests and defend them from unjust attacks, the grocer had been without his representative in the press of the country. The time had at last arrived when the hiatus was to be filled, and the pressing needs alluded to were begun to be met by the appearance on Saturday, January 4, 1862, of the first issue of *THE GROCER*.

This journal, not inaptly described as the "Times" of the grocery trade, saw the light at the beginning of the year mentioned, under the most auspicious circumstances.

Careful preparation had been made for this event, and the prospectus of the new venture,

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

issued three months before, had drawn sufficient promises of support to enable the proprietor to feel that he was about to fill a long-felt want. **THE GROCER** was started with an ample and most useful programme. It was intended not only for the information and guidance of merchant, importer and manufacturer, but also for that of the retail grocer and even for the edification of the village chandler, "who carefully weighed out quarter-ounces of humble Bohea to the poor labourer."

The great adulteration question was then uppermost, and one special purpose of the new paper was to defend the grocer from the amateur and dilettante chemical detectives who were going about seeking how many "adulterating" grocers they might devour; yet with no design to shield the really black sheep who might exist in the folds of the trade.

It is not without significance that we learn that another object of **THE GROCER** was avowedly to furnish reliable information on certain subjects connected with the trade of vital interest to those who follow it. In pursuance of this object, some of the first articles dealt, in an understandable way, with manufactured grocery wares, and proved that evidently there was, even then, a demand for technical trade knowledge which the new journal set out to supply. Thus sugar, tea, coffee, spices and other articles were to be

THE GROCERY TRADE

dealt with in successive numbers, and the programme for these reads like the syllabus for the technical classes of a later date. The early numbers of *THE GROCER* are also well supplied with information concerning stocks of groceries in London, current prices, notes on novelties, and other particulars. One can only remark that the trade had for so long been able to do without its weekly journal. It is not to be wondered at that *THE GROCER* entered with its first number on a long career of usefulness and extended popularity in the trade. Incidentally it was a sign also that the grocers of the period were no whit behind their predecessors in interest in their trade, in enterprise, and in their desire for that knowledge upon which a wise and successful conduct of business is based.

Fifty years ago, in the days when Free Trade was but a new and as yet untried principle, the grocer's stock was still but limited in range. The principal articles sold were tea, coffee and cocoa, dried fruits, raw and refined sugar, rice and perhaps tobacco, wines and spirits (in some cases). With the growth of the population, with the increase of prosperity, with the multiplication of facilities of transport both by land and by sea, and with the developments of the colonies as sources of supply, the grocer was to see not only the area from which he drew his supplies extended, but the purchasers multi-

238

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

plying and their powers of spending vastly magnified. The number, the size and magnificence of grocers' shops, the variety of goods stocked, the number of assistants employed, have all steadily grown during the last generation until the trade has been completely transformed.

In 1861 it became possible, for the first time, to sell tea other than on duly licensed premises, and the hawkers of the period were not slow to take advantage of this new departure. Armed with the necessary tea licence, which was first imposed by North in 1780, their *modus operandi* was to visit certain towns on market-days, and there open a stall, selling therefrom weighed-up packages of tea and other goods. One such proclaimed to the crowd that he "did not intend to sell them tea at 2s. 2d. per pound so good as what the grocer will sell you for 4s., but I will sell you tea much cheaper than you can get it elsewhere. The grocer cannot afford to sell you tea at 2d. per pound profit." Several chests of tea were sold in a day by the men, and the grocers in alarm resorted to various methods to combat this new form of competition. Some, as at Spalding, entered the lists against the newcomers by selling teas themselves in the market-place at a reduced price, while others, as at Holbeach, employed a local auctioneer to sell teas for them.

The auctioneer and his bell could no more

THE GROCERY TRADE

stem the rising tide of competition than Mrs. Partington with her mop could sweep back the Atlantic Ocean. I have already dealt with the growth of the co-operative movement. The method of carrying on the trade by the grocer in his single shop was to have its serious rival in further developments, first in the direction of the department stores (one section of which was devoted to grocery and provisions), and then in the formation of the multiple-shop companies.

One of the first of the department stores to be founded was that of Harrod's, who in 1909 celebrated their diamond jubilee. It was as far back as 1849, that Henry Charles Harrod took a modest grocer's shop in Brompton and started the enterprise which was one day to grow into the present vast establishment. In 1868, the son of the founder, Charles Digby Harrod, took the first step to convert the original grocer's shop into a department store, Mr. William Kibble, the present grocery buyer, being entrusted with the oversight of the new departure. With the growth of the business, new premises were continually added, and in 1889 the business was converted into a limited liability company with a capital of £140,000.

The present remarkable position which Harrod's occupies in the commercial world is largely due to the enterprise and business ability of Mr. Richard Burbidge, who became general manager

240

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

in 1891. Under his supervision the premises have been rebuilt in a style unparalleled for magnificence, the premises including "the largest retail grocery and provision store under one roof in the world."

Whiteley's, Shoolbred's, and other establishments of the kind, were also products of the last fifty years of the century ; in the case of these, however, the drapery trade was the first engaged in, and, later, groceries, &c., were made adjuncts to that business.

It was to combat the incursions of the Civil Service and other similar stores in London and elsewhere that the idea of opening many shops under one proprietorship had its origin.

Among the first of these were the firms of Leverett and Frye (London), John Irwin and Sons (Liverpool), and Bratt and Hobron, and Daniel Melia and Co., of Manchester. The first named in their price lists pointed out to the dweller in Suburbia the advantage of having a grocer's shop, which would fulfil all the requirements of a customer at the Civil Service Stores, at her own door. The first shop of this firm was opened at Greenwich in 1870, and others soon followed at Notting Hill, Bayswater, and elsewhere, where the suburban families then chose to dwell. Upon the death of Mr. Leverett in 1880, Mr. Frye took sole charge of the business, and under his management new branches were opened in

THE GROCERY TRADE

England and Ireland, these numbering in 1894, on the occasion of the formation of a private limited company, no less than fifty. Mr. Frye was one of the first members of the London County Council; and was elected M.P. for Kensington in 1892.

Six years after the establishment of Messrs. Leverett and Frye in London, Mr. John Irwin, of Liverpool, who had commenced business in 1863, decided to spread out, and his firm now numbers some 105 branches and connections.

The "connections" are "offshoots," owned and worked by young men for their own benefit. These young men have grown up with the firm, and some of them elect to trade in their own name, but most trade in that of the firm.

The company, which is a private one, has by far the largest distributing trade in the Liverpool district.

Mr. John Irwin, who founded the business, takes but little part in it now, preferring to leave the conduct of it in younger and more vigorous hands—those of his two sons, Arthur and Herbert, and of Mr. Frederick James, who is a shareholder and acts as sub-manager.

In the case of the fourth firm referred to, that of Messrs. Daniel Melia and Co., it comprised, in 1896, some sixty shops, and was formed into a limited company with a capital of £60,000. In 1905 the company was wound up voluntarily.

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

Another fact worthy of mention in this connection is that there was formed in 1865 the "Gladstonian Tea Company, Ltd.," in order, as the promoters and would-be reformers averred, "that the public may realise the full benefit of Gladstone's reduced duty," but whatever may have been the measure of their reward, it is not the only instance of well-meaning enterprise on the part of individuals other than grocers for the redressing of the supposed deficiencies of the trade.

It was the growing prevalence of the prosecutions connected with the adulteration of tea that led John Ruskin, in 1874, to set up a tea-shop to supply, as he termed it, "the poor in that neighbourhood with pure tea in packets as small as they chose to buy without making a profit on the subdivision, larger orders being, of course, equally acceptable from anybody who cares to promote honest dealing."

The shop was opened at 29 Paddington Street, W., and handed over to the care of two old servants of the family, who managed the business. With a view to giving the shop a distinctive character, Mr. Ruskin informs us in "Fors Clavigera" that he had decided to paint a sign for the shop, but that he could not for months determine "whether the said sign should be of a Chinese character, black upon gold, or of Japanese, blue upon white, or of pleasant English, rose colour on green, and still less how far a

THE GROCERY TRADE

legible scale of letters could be compatible, on a board only a foot broad, with lengthy enough elucidation of the peculiar offices of ' Mr. Ruskin's tea-shop.' " The publishers of " Fors Clavigera," in order to facilitate the success of the enterprise, enclosed in the copies of that publication a card with the name " Harriet Tobey, Tea and Coffee Dealer, 29 Paddington Street, Portland Square," printed thereon, while on the back of the card appeared—" Mr. Ruskin's object in setting up this shop, is that the poor round about may be able to get their tea and coffee pure and unadulterated." The enterprise, however, was doomed to failure. Mr. Ruskin himself wrote that " the result of this experiment has been my ascertaining that the poor only like to buy their tea where it is brilliantly lighted and eloquently ticketed ; and as I resolutely refuse to compete with my neighbouring tradesmen either in gas or rhetoric, the patient subdivision of my parcels by the two old servants of my mother's . . . hitherto passes little recognised as an advantage by my uncalculating public."

The business was eventually closed, and Mr. Ruskin's temporary *rôle* as a retail trader came to an abrupt termination, and was quickly forgotten.

One of the greatest pioneers of the development which led to the formation of branch shops, however, is undoubtedly Sir Thomas Lipton. Born in Glasgow in 1850, his father was a County

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

Tyrone man who had emigrated thither and taken a small provision business in that city. Lipton left school at an early age on his own initiative, in order to lighten his parents' burdens by earning 2s. 6d. a week as an errand-boy. At fifteen, having had a preliminary experience of many trades, he sailed for America to seek his fortune, but returned to Glasgow some ten years later, with not very much money but a large stock of knowledge of the world.

It was in 1876, when twenty-six years old, that Sir Thomas (then Mr. T.) Lipton determined to open in business as a provision merchant. At first he employed no assistants. He worked hard, even sleeping at times under the counter in the back shop so as to be ready for the activities of the next day. His business rapidly expanded, due first to his own keen interest in it, and secondly to a special "cure" for hams of which he had the secret. He also began to advertise in a novel and daring fashion.

A characteristic anecdote of this period is related by Sir Thomas :

"I remember when I was just starting in business. I was very poor and making every sacrifice to enlarge my little shop. My only assistant was a boy of fourteen, faithful and willing and honest. One day I heard him complaining, and with justice, that his clothes

THE GROCERY TRADE

were so shabby that he was ashamed to go to chapel.

“ ‘ There’s no chance of my getting a new suit this year,’ he told me. ‘ Dad’s out of work, and it takes all of my wages to pay the rent.’ ”

“ I thought the matter over, and then took a sovereign from my carefully hoarded savings and bought the boy a stout, warm suit of blue cloth. He was so grateful that I felt repaid for my sacrifice. But the next day he didn’t come to work. I met his mother in the street and asked her the reason.

“ ‘ Why, Mr. Lipton,’ she said, curtsying, ‘ Jimmie looks so respectable, thanks to you, sir, that I thought I would send him round town to-day to see if he couldn’t get a better job.’ ”

The unpretending little shop in Stobcross Street, Glasgow, was to be the nucleus and precursor of a very large number of other depôts, first in Scotland, and afterwards in Ireland and in England. Sir Thomas Lipton was not long before he began to think and to act in millions. In 1889 he first entered the tea trade, because, as he himself said, he had heard that there were large profits to be made in it. His first purchase was that of 20,000 chests, and he took good care to advertise the fact, sending through Glasgow a procession of fifty drays accompanied by bands and pipers. Everybody in the city was thus

246

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

apprised of the new development, and the result was that Lipton's tea "went like wild-fire." The same year he moved his headquarters to London, acquiring premises in the City Road, where, later, a pile of palatial offices and large factories were to be built. Before this, Lipton had journeyed even as far as Nijni Novgorod in quest of trade, and his business in the States also occupied his attention.

By 1890, no less than seventy shops in London alone bore the name of Lipton on their fascias, besides many others in the provinces. An interesting instance of Sir Thomas Lipton's advertising enterprise is recorded. In 1895 he was bound for Ceylon, and, the steamer becoming disabled in the Red Sea, part of the cargo had to be thrown overboard. Lipton quickly had a stencil made and, procuring a pot of paint, had each package labelled "Use Lipton's Teas." These, floating ashore, were read by thousands, who doubtless took to heart the injunction!

In 1898, Sir Thomas Lipton turned his vast business into a limited liability company with a share capital of two millions sterling, divided into equal proportions of 5 per cent. cumulative preference, and ordinary shares, and a debenture stock of £500,000. The value of the total assets which the company (Lipton Ltd.) acquired from the vendor was put at £1,176,785, exclusive of goodwill, trade-marks, &c. Surely this was the

THE GROCERY TRADE

most valuable strictly grocery business which had ever been built up in the history of the trade ! At this date there were 80 London, 120 English and Welsh, 27 Scotch and 18 Irish branches—a total of 245 ; besides 3800 agencies for the sale of Lipton's tea and coffee in the United Kingdom. The American business of Sir Thomas Lipton was not included.

The offer of this colossal business to the investing public was received with avidity. Scenes almost unparalleled in the history of finance ensued, the office of the National Bank of Scotland in Nicholas Lane being literally besieged with eager applicants for allotment of shares. Van-loads of applications—18,000 at least—were received, and it was estimated that so eager were the financiers and investors of the time to share in the great prosperity of Sir Thomas Lipton, and incidentally to enter the grocery trade, that a capital of forty millions represented the amount that would-be subscribers offered. On June 3 the first ordinary general meeting of the new company was held, when the register of shareholders was announced to contain 74,262 names. These shares had been distributed as widely as possible. The shareholders included such prominent men as the Speaker of the House of Commons (1000), the Duke of Fife (1000), Lord Rothschild (5000), the Premier of Canada (1000), and Lord Russell of Killowen and Justice Jeune (5000

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

each). Other notable original shareholders were Messrs. Michael Davitt, Tim Healy, T. P. O'Connor, Arnold Morley, and H. H. Asquith (now Prime Minister).

The next ten years saw Lipton Ltd., extending their business, and, in particular, increasing the number of their branches. The net profits during the period (1898-1908) were £1,688,493 16s. 10d. after providing £207,867 for depreciation. In the latter year the number of branches had grown to 427, whilst a year later the company had 458 shops in the United Kingdom. At the annual meeting in June 1908 it was decided to issue another 250,000 ordinary shares of £1 each. At the same time it was announced that the policy of the company was to refit and re-decorate their premises in the latest style of twentieth-century shop-fitting, besides increasing their warehouse room and plant. As an example of this the company's branch at Brighton was cited, at which no expense had been spared in creating a shop which should be the finest on the south coast. Here fifty assistants are employed amongst surroundings probably more gorgeous than ever before attended the retailing of tea and coffee, bacon and cheese. The floor is artistically laid in mosaic, and walls and counters are bright with tile-work and polished woods. Even the ceiling is decorated with an allegorical subject, to wit "Plenty." Here at least "Lipton" is a

THE GROCERY TRADE

synonym for luxury ! Another later development of the firm's activities has been to open restaurants in London, the first of which was that at the corner of Holborn and Kingsway (opened on August 15, 1908). Others have since followed.

From first to last the guiding hand of Sir Thomas Lipton, Bart., K.C.V.O., has never left the reins of this vast business. He has presided annually at the general meetings ; he has, for the greater part of the year, attended at his office in the City Road ; and at other times he has made frequent journeys to all parts of the world in the interests of his business. Sir Thomas has never married. As for his other activities, space would fail me to do more than mention his endeavour, year after year, to bring back to England the " America Cup," and with it the blue ribbon of the yachting world ; or his munificence in assisting with a donation of £25,000 her present Gracious Majesty, Queen Alexandra, to entertain the poor of London on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee. These facts and much besides are well known to all my readers, and prove that the race of grocers famous for business enterprise and public spirit is by no means extinct.

But it is time to mention other directions in which trade enterprise has found expression. The Home and Colonial Stores Ltd. could point, at the beginning of 1909, to more branches than even the great business just described.

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

It will be impossible to do more than indicate the steps by which the prosperity of the Home and Colonial Stores has been built up.

In April 1885 a company was formed with the quite moderate capital of £3000 to carry on a "co-operative store in all its branches," under the name of the Home and Colonial Trading Association Ltd. Three years later, another company was formed, with a capital of £200,000, to take over the premises, plants, goodwill and stock of the Home and Colonial Trading Association. The premises included five shops in London, two in Birmingham, and others in Yorkshire and the Midlands—fourteen in all. The principal London shops were those in the Edgware Road and at Islington (High Street), which have since been the largest individual premises used by the Home and Colonial Stores. The first general meeting of the new company was held on July 16, 1888, and shortly afterwards the list of shareholders was filed, an inspection of which reveals the fact that "all sorts and condition of men"—and of women—were anxious to participate in the business of the grocer, to the extent of investing money in it and netting a yearly profit, if that might be. There were, besides, a considerable number of grocers' assistants listed as shareholders—although their holdings were not large. The new company continued to trade successfully and to enlarge

THE GROCERY TRADE

its borders until the autumn of 1893, when reconstruction on a larger plan took place. The name of the old company was changed, for this purpose, to "The Stores Ltd.," which shortly afterwards was wound up voluntarily, and immediately a new company (which we may call the Home and Colonial Stores Ltd. No. 2) was formed with a nominal capital of £400,000. This was, it seems, but a preliminary to the formation, less than a year later, of the Home and Colonial Stores Ltd. (No. 3), registered January 8, 1895, with a capital of one million pounds divided into 100,000 preference shares of £5 each, and a like number of ordinary shares of the same value. This company—the one that, with sundry changes and additions with regard to capital, exists to-day—had at the beginning of 1909, 589 branches.

The Home and Colonial Stores Ltd. has to a large extent pioneered a method of trading which is stamped with a decidedly modern note. Except in the case of their depôts at Islington and Edgware Road and Woolwich, where every kind of grocery and provision wares is sold, as well as vegetables, meat, wines and spirits, tobacco, fish and poultry, the company's stores are generally but small shops, each the exact counterpart of the other. Here only a limited range of goods is stocked—tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, jam and condensed milk on the one hand, and butter,

252

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

margarine and cheese on the other. A uniformity of design in fitting and decoration—and those who have attempted to imitate it have been restrained by the Courts at the instigation of the company—and in the arrangements of the stock are insisted upon. Thus at a glance the public eye can tell when any depôt of the Home and Colonial Stores is before it.

Others of the multiple-shop companies whose depôts are in every market street—at any rate, in London and the South of England—are the Maypole Dairy Co., Ltd., the International Tea Stores, Ltd., and Pearks, Ltd. The Maypole Dairy Co. was formed in 1896. Its capital is a million, and at the beginning of 1909 the company had six hundred branches. It confines its activity to the sale of tea, butter, margarine, eggs and condensed milk. The International Stores Ltd. has a capital divided into 500,000 £1 ordinary shares and £600,000 in £5 preference shares. It had 340 branches at the beginning of the year. One wonders what a member of the Grocers' Company of the seventeenth century would say, were he to witness in the flesh this modern development of the grocery trade.

With regard to the four companies mentioned, there have been at various times certain rumours that an amalgamation was contemplated. Thus at the end of 1907 a statement was made to this effect in a financial paper. The truth of the

THE GROCERY TRADE

report was denied by three of the firms mentioned, the fourth (the Home and Colonial Stores Ltd.) giving a qualified negative. Later, in March 1908, at the meeting of the Home and Colonial Stores, the chairman, Mr. W. Capel Slaughter, said that the rumours referred to had had some justification. He believed that the ultimate end of all the competition must be amalgamation.

That the existence of these colossal concerns with their many hundreds of branches has had an immense effect on the history of the trade during the last quarter of a century cannot be doubted. The competition alluded to by Mr. Slaughter has not only been felt by the companies themselves, it has also hit the private grocer very hard. The policy of the grocer was once to sell his goods, with but few exceptions, at a profit. This is not always the policy of the companies. Thus at the annual meeting of one of these concerns held in March 1908, the chairman said that his board, rather than risk a decrease of turnover, had deliberately determined to sell certain grades of tea and also cheese at a loss. Speaking at the thirteenth annual meeting of Pearks, Ltd., the chairman remarked that "competition had reached a pitch that would have been ludicrous had it not been so mischievous. It hardly deserved to be called competition, when traders, in a frantic effort to

254

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

make big returns, deliberately sold a line of everyday requirement at *30 per cent. below cost price* on the chance of inducing customers to buy another article on which they could make up their loss." Only last year a large concern having over two hundred shops in Lancashire and Yorkshire went into liquidation (Bell's Stores, Ltd.). For the five years this company had been trading, a loss of no less than £34,674 had been made. As in all probability this was mainly caused by fixing the price of goods sold on an unremunerative basis, in order to meet competition, it is plain that one of the greatest problems of the trade of to-day lies in this direction. In spite of this fact, a large number of individual grocers continue to hold their own.

Such men as Mr. A. G. Grantham (Mayor of Southwark 1907-8), who has during his lifetime extended his business from one shop in the Blackfriars Road, London, to about forty branch establishments in the various London suburbs, or Mr. W. H. Cullen, of Kingsland Road, London, who now controls seventy-eight grocery businesses, or Mr. John Williams, of Manchester, who has several flourishing businesses in that town and district, or Mr. John Kellitt, of Liverpool, who has built up a number of businesses in that centre, are but typical instances of the legitimate grocer not merely holding his own, but prepared to branch out, side by side with the multiple shop,

THE GROCERY TRADE

and, with nothing but his own name to recommend him, to compete honestly and fearlessly for the custom of the public. Nearly all our large towns can tell the same story of individual enterprise, backed by sound, practical common sense, holding its own, and well maintaining the traditions of the trade. These men not only carry on successful grocery businesses, but also associate themselves with the social and civic life of the town in which they live.

The era of the multiple-shop companies, of the co-operative and of the department stores, has also had another effect on the trade. It has caused the creation of a race of managers. Of old, the apprentice and the journeyman or assistant worked under the eye of the proprietor, who was his own manager and gave personal attention to the business. The board of the multiple-shop company and of the department store is often composed of men, great no doubt in the regions of finance, but by no means grocers in any sense of the word ! For the practical details of the business they have to employ not only the assistants who serve behind their counters, but men of responsibility to place in charge of their shops ; and in superior positions also, buyers, inspectors, and general managers with undoubted experience of the trade. Thus to men of ambition, who have started in life in the world of grocery, there is some compensation

256

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

for a state of things which makes opening a shop on their own account (the aim and ambition of the old-time grocers' assistant) a risky and dangerous proceeding. They can aspire to the superior positions of responsibility which the big companies have to offer, and which yield—with the increase of responsibility—a salary proportionate thereto. The point can be emphasised by reference to an apprenticeship scheme made public by Lipton, Ltd., in the summer of 1908. This was stated to be devised in order to train up, in the service of the firm, men fit to take the various positions it had to offer, and for which it professed to have a difficulty in finding suitable nominees. Under this system the young recruit starting with Lipton, Ltd., was to be justified in cherishing the hope that he might one day find himself on the topmost rung of the ladder of success. In the beginning he might hold only the humble position of the messenger or shop-boy. He might thence pass on to such posts as that of salesman, assistant manager and manager of one of the five hundred branch shops. From this he might rise to be an inspector, general manager of a district, or representative of the firm at one of its establishments abroad, with a salary varying, according to his duties, from a few hundreds to a thousand pounds or more a year.

In the four years of apprenticeship the lad

THE GROCERY TRADE

was to receive weekly wages at the rate of 8s., 9s., 10s. and 12s. for each successive year. After the apprenticeship was over, a bonus of £50 awaited him, and he might soon be installed as the manager of a branch.

Such was the golden prospect offered the lad seeking to enter the world of grocery through the portals of Lipton, Ltd. The success of the scheme remains to be tested, but it seems certainly to be the nearest approach in modern times, on any large scale, to a revival of the apprenticeship system, once the universal rule in the trade.

It will thus be seen that the last quarter of a century, besides radically altering the conditions under which the grocer carries on his business, has had a no less far-reaching effect on the assistants. The times have indeed changed. The men of the trade must, to be successful, adapt themselves to the new circumstances of their calling.

And indeed there have not been wanting indications that the grocers—those who, in their single shops, or perhaps with a few branches in the same neighbourhood, are fired with the intention to make as good a fight as possible for their position in the trade—are alive to the necessity of meeting combination by combination.

The most significant sign of this has been the rise and progress of the Grocers' Associations throughout the country. Previous to 1891, for

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

some years a growing number of places had seen the establishment of Associations of the local grocers, who met together at stated intervals to discuss the questions affecting their position as traders, to study their common problems, and to agree, where possible, on concerted action. The first local Association to be established, so far as I have been able to gather, was the Manchester Grocers' Association, formed in 1855. The objects of this Association were: Firstly, to effect the abandonment, by retailers, of selling sugar at a loss; secondly, to secure a fairer and more uniform system of sampling sugars, tares upon teas, and such changes in Custom House regulations and market terms as from time to time may be found beneficial to the trade; thirdly, to accomplish such reductions and simplifications of duty, especially on the articles of sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, fruits, and tobacco, as shall benefit the trade and the public, without loss to the Revenue.

The minimum annual subscription was fixed at five shillings. This Association apparently lapsed a few years later, but was re-established in 1873, since which it has been in the forefront of every movement on behalf of the grocers of the country. Its present secretary, Mr. James Kendall, was created a J.P. in 1907.

In 1873, there was formed the "Birmingham and Midland Counties Grocers' Protection and

THE GROCERY TRADE

Benevolent Association," the object being to render assistance to its members "in compelling the tea merchants in London and elsewhere to protect the trade generally against any loss they sustain from the sale of tea as received by them from Her Majesty's Customs."

The prosecutions of grocers under the Adulteration of Food Acts, 1872, engaged the attention of both the Manchester and Birmingham Associations.

It was at this period, 1876, that the *Grocers' Journal* suggested the formation of an organisation of grocers, "having its centre in London and branches extended throughout the United Kingdom."

In 1891, a proposal to link up the various Associations in a Federation had its tangible result.

The subject was first introduced at a dinner of the Bristol Grocers' Association, held on February 11, 1891, at which Mr. G. M. Carlile presided. Mr. W. H. Lever, who was present, pointed out that there were a large number of Grocers' Associations in the country, and that every trade excepting that of the grocers had their Annual Congress. He did not see why grocers should not have theirs. The Bristol Association had in his opinion been so energetic during the short time of its existence that he trusted it might do still greater good by inducing all the

260

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

Associations formed by Grocers in the United Kingdom to join together and hold an Annual Congress at which all subjects of interest to the trade could be discussed. Such a conference would afford an opportunity for gentlemen from different parts of the country to meet together and exchange views."

He promised an annual subscription of fifty guineas to such a scheme, and anything required for the first year up to two hundred guineas he would be glad to meet.

The proposal was received with favour by the committee, and they put themselves into communication with all the leading Associations in the country in order to ascertain their views.

The next stage was reached on Tuesday, March 17, when a dinner was held in London at the invitation of Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P., attended by some of the foremost men in the trade, to discuss and further the Federation. Mr. Lever himself presided, and he was supported, among others, by Mr. F. C. Frye, chairman of the Metropolitan Grocers' Association, at the head of the retail branch of the trade, and a goodly number of those engaged in the wholesale and manufacturing branches. Mr. Lever in his speech pointed to the fact that during the few preceding months many new Grocers' Associations had been formed in different parts of the country.

THE GROCERY TRADE

He also stated that the idea of the Federation had been suggested by the Bristol Association, whose leading lights at that time were Messrs. Carlile, Jennings and Hall. At a former dinner of that Association it had been proposed that a meeting should be called with a view to federation, and in order to further the idea, Mr. Lever, having felt the pulse of the trade, had arranged the dinner. He did not think that a Federation would stop competition, but it would certainly enable them to meet it in a better way. It would not stop cutting, but he considered that it would assist to clear away the misunderstandings which often were the cause of it. The Association, he said, had been founded to combat "Civil Service" trading; linked together in a Federation, they would certainly be more effective to this end! And lastly, a Federation would enable the grocers to make their united opinion heard on questions affecting the whole trade, and would compel attention in Parliament, in wholesale circles and elsewhere, to their requirements and wishes.

Mr. Lever's remarks were received with applause, which showed that the proposal he was advocating met with the approval of the leaders of the trade.

Mr. George Shelley, as a retail grocer, subsequently took the chair, and the following resolution, moved by Mr. F. C. Frye, was

262

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

put to the meeting and unanimously agreed to:

“That this meeting of representatives of grocers and Grocers’ Associations throughout the United Kingdom, having in view the loss of power sustained by the trade owing to the absence of a Federation of Associations, hereby resolves that a Federation be formed.”

At a later meeting a provisional committee was formed, consisting of Sir William Pink, Peter Bratt, George Shelley, James Duckworth, Henry Cushen, F. C. Frye, C. R. Burgess, G. M. Carlile, J. J. Holder, with A. J. Giles (secretary).

The first conference of grocers was held at Birmingham on November 18, 1891, when Mr. George Shelley presided over a gathering of 101 delegates, representing nearly twenty Associations, with a total membership of 1928.

The conference was an event which was welcomed as unique in the annals of the craft, and as adding an important chapter to its history. The old days, when a grocer thought every other grocer—at any rate from the same area—was his natural enemy, seemed to recede further into the past, and the most forward step which up to then had been possible was taken in the direction of organising the master grocers of England in a representative and powerful combination for their own interests.

THE GROCERY TRADE

The Federation of Grocers' Associations of the United Kingdom was founded at Birmingham at this meeting. During the course of the deliberations subjects of general trade interest were discussed, such as legislation for the repression of adulteration, the protection of the grocer from the debtor who never intends to pay, the question of the profit on proprietary articles, and the early closing problem. In this latter connection it is worth while to notice that the conference approved the principle of legislative regulation of shop hours by a considerable majority. The rules and constitution of the Federation were discussed and amended according to the collective wisdom of the business men then present.

Mr. Alderman R. C. Barrow was elected president, and Mr. Henry Cushen treasurer.

A General Purposes Committee was also formed, consisting of Messrs. G. Shelley, Peter Bratt, G. M. Carlile, F. C. Frye, C. R. Burges, J. J. Holder, Sir William Pink, D. Davies, W. Jennings, H. T. Phillips, Jas. Lowry, W. Whitehead, J. T. Lees, J. Cordey, S. Searle, and R. Dunwoody. How the Federation then established has progressed—in spite of some rifts within the lute—will best be seen by a reference to the meeting this year (1909) at Oxford. Year by year delegates from all parts of the country have met at different great centres, at Middles-

264

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

brough, at Bournemouth, and elsewhere, and each year has seen the number of important places represented increasing. Some of the foremost men in the retail trade have worn the presidential chain of office, the present occupant of the office being Mr. C. W. Strange, of Oxford.

In 1908, an event unique in the history of the grocery trade took place, when the *entente cordiale*, fostered by the Franco-British Exhibition of that year, extended to the grocers of England and France, whose representatives met for an international conference on trade matters.

Whilst the master grocers have thus adopted the policy of combining for their own protection and in their own interests, it is not surprising that the assistants also should have at length taken a leaf out of their book. The National Association of Grocers' Assistants is the expression of the necessity felt by some of the most thoughtful and observant, as well as the most public-spirited among the assistants, for a common basis of expression and action. It was on September 19, 1897, that a meeting of a few grocers' assistants was held at 18 Newgate Street, London, which I had been the means, after repeated efforts, of convening. The project of founding an association, membership of which should be open to any assistant in the trade wherever situated, was discussed, and it was agreed that the times pointed to the absolute necessity of using every

THE GROCERY TRADE

effort to inaugurate such a project. I have alluded to the altered circumstances in which an assistant in the trade of to-day finds his lot to be cast. These circumstances seemed then, as now, to indicate that there were new problems facing the employees in the trade which could only find their solution in united action. To shorten the hours of labour, to assist one another in sickness and unemployment by means of a provident fund, to provide means for studying the technicalities of the trade, to establish an employment bureau, and generally to get assistants interested in their trade and its conditions with a view to ameliorate their own position and prospects, were some of the objects for which the Association was started.

An earlier attempt to form a Grocers' Assistants' Association in London had been made in the sixties, and as a result of some preliminary correspondence in the trade press, a meeting of assistants was held at the Whittington Club on January 7, 1864, when officers were elected and rules approved. This Association, however, did not live more than thirteen months, and in February 1865 it was decided, in view of the lack of support, to dissolve the society.

The National Association of Grocers' Assistants held its first annual meeting in March 1898, and since that period national conferences of assistants have been held at Liverpool, Brighton,

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

Belfast, Bristol, Nottingham, Portsmouth, and Birmingham. At the eleventh annual conference, held at Nottingham on May 31, 1909, delegates were present from branches in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The Assistants' Association has, of course, had its ups and downs. The very idea of organisation was utterly foreign to the minds of the assistant body at first; they had not untruly been described as an apathetic class, aroused with difficulty to united action. Experience had proved that it was no easy matter to change the state of things, and it was natural that the latest efforts to organise the assistants should prove uphill work, that many men should have been easily discouraged with the work and have deserted it after a short interval of enthusiasm. However, the latest development of the organisation, as evidenced by the eleventh annual conference at Nottingham, has proved that the assistants can now count upon a number of leaders sprung from their midst and capable of carrying on the work the foundations of which have been laid during the past eleven years. I refer to such men as Charles Dales, J. R. Tooby, S. W. Felgate, Thomas Scott, A. J. Roots, C. L. T. Beeching, H. E. Eaton, Thomas Rule, R. A. Tomlinson, George Cowell, A. Steele, W. E. Irwin, Charles Brookes, Ernest Bubbers, P. W. Gray, M. W. Gordon, and many others, each of whom has

THE GROCERY TRADE

found in the National Association a platform whereon to use his gifts on behalf of his fellow workers.

Nor should one forget, in this connection, Mr. J. A. Seddon, M.P., the first grocer's assistant to sit in the House of Commons, and one who, although not officially connected with the National Association, yet came out of the ranks of the assistants and served with distinction the office of President of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks in 1902. He has already spoken on several occasions in the House on behalf of the young men behind the counter.

Mention might also be made of H. Hairsine, T. S. Jones, and John Turner, as men who, when serving behind the grocer's counter, realised the existence of grievances in the trade, and are now assisting in the work of amelioration.

Thus, whilst the closing years of the nineteenth century may be described as the era of the multiple-shop concern, it may also not unjustly be spoken of as the epoch of associated effort among both master grocers and grocers' assistants.

Much of the success of the various Associations has been due to the splendid support which they have received, and continue to receive, from the trade press.

I have already referred to **THE GROCER**, which was established in 1860, and which still ministers

MODERN TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

to the needs of the trade. In 1875, the *Grocers' Journal* first saw the light. In the enunciation of their programme the proprietors said that "the aim of the *Grocers' Journal* will be to create a spirit of inquiry, to foster and promote a desire for commercial advancement, and to place at a glance before its readers such facts, figures and reflections that will benefit all who study them."

Six years later another penny weekly for grocers was published. "In issuing the first number of the *Grocers' Gazette*," said the editor with commendable brevity, "we desire to thank our numerous friends for much hearty support. Our object is to supply the acknowledged want of a representative journal at a low price. Although in the first issue we cannot hope to obtain the degree of perfection at which we aim, but we trust the paper will be found both interesting and useful, and in proportion as it fulfils this condition we shall expect the success which we intend to merit."

Other papers have from time to time since made their appearance, including the *Grocers' Review*, the *Irish Grocer*, the *Irish Grocery World*, the *Scottish Trader, Grocery*, and the *Grocers' Assistant*, the latter catering specially for the needs of the young men in the trade.

CHAPTER XIV

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

WITH the changes I have described as taking place in the trade itself, there have been during the same period corresponding and equally remarkable changes in the commodities which the grocer is called upon to handle.

The last fifty years have seen science and engineering making tremendous strides. The manufacturers no longer depend upon "rule of thumb" for the success of their methods. The modern factory is a hive full of the busy hum of workers, but it is also resonant with the musical whirl of the most intricate and delicate machinery; and not the least important department is the laboratory, where trained chemists are submitting the raw material to minute investigation before it passes into the hands of those who superintend its fashioning into the finished product, and send it forth to the thousands of grocers' shops all over the world.

With this advance of scientific knowledge and its technical application, a very great cheapening

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

of the necessities of life has ensued. Many things, as, for example, preserves of all sorts, once luxuries, have become necessities, and that even within living memory. And a greater purity and a higher degree of perfection in manufacture, demanded by the Health Department of a paternal Government, if not by the greater intelligence (born of universal education) of the consumer, is the rule. Added to this, the more sanitary, cleanly and humane conditions generally, which characterise the modern factory, make it plain that perhaps the greatest revolution of all has been experienced in this part of the trade.

Take, for example, sugar, the bulkiest article handled by the grocer. It was not so very long ago that the grocer, receiving his raw sugars in huge hogsheads, had to take a great deal of dirty and unsavoury trouble in grinding, blending and otherwise treating them before they were ready for sale. Still later, the loaf sugar, arriving in awkwardly shaped "titlers" or loaves, had to be laboriously chopped, the result being but irregular and unsatisfactory compared with the product sold to-day. Cube-sugar was then unknown, and even the machine-cut loaf entailed a good deal of dust and waste.

"Necessity is the mother of invention," however, and when the chemist and the engineer join forces the result is wonderful. This truism was

THE GROCERY TRADE

never better illustrated than by the rise and progress of the great firm of sugar-refiners, Messrs. Henry Tate and Sons, Ltd. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Tate started life as a grocer. Born in Chorley in 1819, he opened business for himself about twenty years later. Even then the qualities which produced one of the most famous of the merchant princes of the Victorian era were revealing themselves. Sugar-refining claimed his attention in 1859, when he started a refinery on a small scale in Earl Street, Liverpool, where the firm of Henry Tate and Co. found its first habitation. Ten years later four of the sons were admitted into partnership with their father—William Henry (the present baronet), Alfred, Edwin, and Henry (junior), and the style of the firm was changed, accordingly, to that of Henry Tate and Sons. Ever straining every effort to attain the absolute purity of their productions, they ventured where others had hesitated. The “Boivin Loiseau” patent, which, if adopted, would cause a complete revolution in sugar-refining, was offered them after the owner had failed to persuade any of their competitors in Great Britain to entertain its purchase, the outlay involved being so enormous. After carefully counting the cost, Messrs. Tate acquired their rights and installed the required machinery and plant, when, in 1870, their modern refinery in Love Lane, Liverpool, was at the same time

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

being built. Their enterprise was duly rewarded by the purity and brilliance of the sugars produced by the new process instantly commanding a demand that rapidly grew.

But while the chemist was ever striving to detect impurities at every stage of production, the engineer was assiduously searching for improvements in the machinery, so as to attain and maintain the highest possible standard. A few years earlier a certain French mechanic, M. Langen, hit upon the idea of manufacturing in flat cakes instead of in the immemorial form of cones. The principle, so simple that the wonder is it was not thought of before, was to mould the liquid material, the desired shape being attained by the use of divisional plates. It was soon found that the invention was most useful, and M. Langen promptly protected his invention in all countries where possible by letters patent.

With characteristic enterprise, Messrs. Henry Tate and Son purchased, during the year 1875, the British rights in all Langen's inventions. In 1877 the Silvertown works of that firm were commenced, being completed at an inclusive cost of about £100,000; and by the end of 1878 the manufacture of sugar under the new method was being extensively carried on, with marked advantage both as to profit and as to the article turned out by this pioneer firm.

The exclusive rights to Langen's inventions

THE GROCERY TRADE

purchased by the Tates were not maintained without a struggle. The inventor had also sold the French rights to the Raffinerie Say in 1879 ; and this firm was under the impression that they could send sugar by the new process to England. Messrs. Tate protested that this was not so, but they were reluctant to embark upon litigation. although they warned the grocers of the United Kingdom that to deal in the Say cubes was to infringe their rights. This naturally put a considerable restraint upon the trade which the English agent of the foreign refinery was able to do, and the tension became very acute. Finally Messrs. Say took action, applying for an injunction to restrain Messrs. Tate from saying that they had the sole right to the monopoly of Langen's process in Great Britain. The action of Burnet *v.* Tate, a *cause célèbre* in the history of the trade, was duly fought, and at length Mr. Justice Field, in April 1883, held that Tates were justified in claiming the monopoly. Subsequently, of course, its value has been considerably minimised by later developments, and inventions in the sugar-refining process used, but the prestige and leading position obtained by Messrs. Tate has never seriously been challenged, and their "cubes" are quite the sugar *de luxe* as well as the most widely and universally used of any. The huge fortune amassed by the late Sir Henry Tate, Bart. (who retired in 1896 and died in 1899), and so splendidly used, is one more proof that enter-

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

prise and absolutely honest dealing, combined with British pluck, are destined to win the day.

But there is another aspect of the British Sugar Refining Industry, of which sight must not be lost at this juncture. The bounty on the exportation of Dutch and French refined sugar and the alleged stimulation of the production of both raw and refined beetroot sugar on the continent by bounties had during the latter half of the nineteenth century developed into what was known as the burning "Sugar Question." Unlike the duties which benefited the few refiners, but injured the many grocers, the whole trade was seriously handicapped by these bounties, with the abolition of which the name of George Martineau will for ever be honourably associated. After devoting some thirty years of his life to the very arduous task, including work in connection with four international Conventions, he had the satisfaction in 1898, at the Brussels Convention, of seeing the abolition *un fait accompli*; and in recognition of the prominent share he had taken in the movement, the Companionship of the Bath was conferred upon him. On April 18 of the following year he read before the Royal Statistical Society, "The Statistical Aspect of the Sugar Question," which was afterwards printed for private circulation, and is a monument to his exceptional knowledge of the subject.

Mr. William Martineau, his son, who is inti-

THE GROCERY TRADE

mately associated with the Institute of Certificated Grocers, is a direct descendant of David Martineau, who in 1790 founded the firm which is now known as Martineau Limited.

But sugar is not alone in furnishing the raw material of huge fortunes, and in having machinery and science introduced as factors in its manufacture. One has but to consider the prominent cocoa firms of our own country to be assured of this. The Frys, the Rowntrees, the Cadburys, spring instantly to one's memory in this connection.

The Cadburys were, equally with the Tates, pioneers in their own particular speciality. John Cadbury, the founder of the firm of Messrs. Cadbury Bros., commenced business as a tea and coffee dealer at 93 Bull Street, Birmingham, in 1824, and nine years later rented a warehouse in Crooked Lane, where he experimented in making cocoa and chocolate with pestle and mortar. By 1849 the founder had been joined by his brother, B. H. Cadbury, and the firm became Cadbury Bros. The growth in their cocoa trade led the firm to abandon the tea and coffee business in 1874, and since that time they have confined themselves to the manufacture of pure cocoa only. It was early in 1866 that a new form of cocoa was to be placed on the market by the enterprise of this firm. It is well known that fatty matter called cocoa-butter forms 50 per cent. of the cocoa-nib, and

276

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

hence the whole and sole product of the ground nib is not altogether palatable, nor is it suited to the requirements of the average human stomach. This excess of fat had been previously palliated by amalgamating the ground nib with various ingredients, such as arrowroot, sago, flour and sugar. The resultant drink was thick and cloying to the palate. Here Messrs. Cadbury stepped in, and succeeded with their "Cocoa Essence" in producing a thin-drinking cocoa which retained all the valuable properties of the bean, with the excess (about two-thirds) of the cocoa-butter removed; and at the same time presented a cocoa that was absolutely pure and three times the strength of homœopathic cocoa or of French chocolate.

It was this scientific and highly beneficial product which helped forward the fortunes of the great Midland firm by leaps and bounds. The new cocoa was designed to yield the retailer a very fair profit; and it is a pity that it was for many years systematically "cut" by the trade—*i.e.*, sold for less than the price which Messrs. Cadbury had intended. The firm supported its manufactures by very liberal advertising, which, as my readers know, has continued to this day. As with sugar, so with cocoa, many changes and improvements in the process of manufacture have taken place since the birth of Cadbury's Essence in 1866, but that product still maintains the

THE GROCERY TRADE

place which it attained, in spite of much foreign and other competition.

One can hardly think even of the name Cadbury without referring to the humanitarian policy which has long been associated with their manufactures.

Space forbids that we do more than glance at the works and model village at Bournville where the manufacturing activities of Cadbury Bros. are concentrated. Bournville has been well named "the factory in a garden," and the thousands of visitors who are annually welcomed to this industrial paradise will re-echo the justness of the epithet. Here, far removed from the city's smoke and tainted air, the factory buildings are situated in wide spaces. Inside, perfect order and spotless cleanliness prevail; without, the open spaces and courtyards are cultivated with trees, herbs and flowers, trim and spruce as the gardens of some nobleman's country residence.

As for the work-people, a large proportion of whom are girls (marriage disqualifies girls or women for service), the Cadburys have taken the most careful thought that their whole life shall be lived amongst ideal conditions. They are expected to put the best possible work into their various duties, it is true; but they are encouraged to do this by the interest the firm takes in their leisure. There are gymnasia, swimming-baths, recreation-rooms, playing-fields; as well as

278

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

libraries, musical societies and photographic societies, and provision for instruction both technical and literary. The Bournville Village Trust is also a product of the firm's beneficence. The inception of this scheme is due to Mr. George Cadbury, and it is designed to alleviate the evils which arise from the insanitary and insufficient accommodation supplied to large numbers of the working classes, and to secure to the workers in factories, some of the advantages of outdoor village life, with opportunities for the natural and healthful occupation of cultivating the soil. The result of this purpose was the foundation of a "Garden City," now containing 600 houses, each possessing a good-sized garden. Out of the 4000 employees at Messrs. Cadbury's factories, about 1200 reside at Bournville. Another scheme of the firm for the good of their workpeople is the works' pension fund, to which both workmen and firm are contributors. Its annual report just published proves that it is in a most flourishing condition. And the latest evidence of the firm's interest in its "hands" is the promotion of a scheme by which all those who have been in the regular employ of the firm for one year and upwards shall have a gift towards their annual holiday, varying from three days to one week or more, according to length of service. Needless to say, the employees welcomed the proposal with acclamation. Mr. George Cadbury, the head of

THE GROCERY TRADE

the firm, who incidentally said that, in the course of his fifty years' connection with it, he had seen the dozen hands employed grow to close upon five thousand, was heartily thanked at a mass meeting convened by the employees. As showing the place held by British enterprise in the world's trade where cocoa is concerned, it is interesting to note that Mr. Cadbury was able to say on the same occasion that he believed that in their export trade, in which they had to face the competition of the world, they had done better than any other firm. He also added that that had been largely due to the help they had received from their employees.

The mention of the model village at Bournville is a reminder that in another branch of the manufacturing departments of the trade "welfare management" has been adopted with the success it deserves.

Whilst in the cocoa and in the sugar trade revolutions of vast importance to every grocer have been witnessed, the same can most emphatically be said of the soap trade.

It is within living memory that, except perhaps for John Knight's "Primrose," the proprietary soap was practically unknown. Soap used to reach the grocer in bars, and every week part of the duty of the assistants was to cut and weigh it up into pounds and half-pounds. To-day an almost endless variety of soaps in cartons bearing

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

all sorts of fancy names are offered to the grocer. Many of these have, associated with them, some prize or premium scheme, a method of advertising which is not altogether smiled upon by the grocer.

The pioneer of the new era in soap was Mr. W. H. Lever, who, it is interesting to note, started life as a retail grocer.

Whilst tallow had been the fatty basis of soap from time immemorial, Mr. Lever determined to employ more largely the vegetable oils obtained from the tropical regions of the world. The result of this experiment was the now famous "Sunlight Soap." He early began to advertise, and perhaps the most remarkable and effective poster of modern times was that which asked the pertinent question, "Why does a woman look old sooner than a man?"—eminently calculated as it was to touch the fair sex, the principal users of soap, on a particularly tender spot. The success of Sunlight Soap has been great beyond the most sanguine dreams of its inventor. It was soon followed, of course, by numerous other varieties, the products of rival manufacturers; and the competition recently came to a head in alleged negotiations for the formation of a soap-trust to embrace nearly all the principal manufacturers in the kingdom. Universal attention was called to this by the action of a certain group of newspapers, which attributed to the heads of the soap firms involved such sinister motives that legal

THE GROCERY TRADE

action followed. In the series of actions for libel taken by the various firms, and in particular in those fought by Messrs. Lever Bros., Ltd., and by Messrs. Edward Cook and Co., Ltd., damages of many thousands of pounds were awarded against the newspapers in question.

Messrs. Lever Bros., Ltd., have established their factory away from the crowded city on the banks of the Mersey, on a spot which, before their coming, was little more than a swamp. Here now flourishes Port Sunlight, a model village of great beauty, healthfulness and convenience, where the workers at the adjoining perfectly planned and equipped factories live under well-nigh perfect conditions.

Perhaps the best bird's-eye view of the Sunlight Soap King is gained from a glimpse of a little series of his own pen-pictures of himself by way of illustrating "How I built my Business." His introduction to the series is quite characteristic of the man. "To me," he says, "it all seems so ordinary, and it is scarcely likely to be of general interest." In the first picture we see the child of three or four years playing with the books on the book-shelf. This systematising of the books, regardless of their contents and merely for their outward appearance, used to give him intense delight when he could only crawl to the book-shelf. The second picture presents him as a lad of nine vainly experimenting

282

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

with a view to the growing on the roofs of his hutches all the corn necessary for the feeding of the rabbits kept in them. In the third is seen the lad of sixteen cutting and wrapping soap in a grocer's shop. Then as a youth of twenty he is glued at an office desk and arguing with his father that it would be more profitable to pay 20s. a week to some other youth for making out invoices and to put the son on the road to solicit orders at a salary of £150 or £200 a year. His next portrait is of a young man at twenty-two, just married, arranging with a soap-maker to produce, in accordance with his own ideas, a soap called "Lever's Pure Honey Soap." Proceeding to the next we find a young commercial traveller, on a day in 1876, having finished his calls at 3.30, debating whether to return to Bolton or go and explore the next village. The decision then arrived at, to explore, resulted within a year in the establishment of a wholesale grocery at Wigan, in 1886 of the soap-works in Warrington, in 1888 of soap-works at Port Sunlight, and in succeeding years of works at Mannheim (Germany), Brussels (Belgium), Olten (Switzerland), Sydney (N.S.W.), Boston (U.S.A.), and Toronto (Canada), together with the cocoanut plantations in the Pacific and branch offices and agencies in practically every one of the civilised (and a great many of the uncivilised) countries of the world.

THE GROCERY TRADE

Summing it all up, the autobiographer says :

“ If I had not had an inborn delight in organisation, in marshalling in proper order ; if I had not had an insatiable thirst for expansion and for the trial of novel methods ; if I had felt at 3.30 that merely because the usual day’s work was completed I could return home and do nothing more for the remainder of the day, and if I had not been willing to follow the business from one expansion to another, the present business could never have been built up.”

Having enumerated certain fortuitous circumstances which have contributed to his success, he attributes much of it to his “ good fortune to be surrounded with loyal and devoted colleagues, working with the same objects. Ever since the instance quoted above,” he writes, “ when I was twenty years of age, I have endeavoured to find out men who could do certain things better than myself, and then to assist them with all my energy in doing such things.”

Another firm in the same trade is also particularly studious of the welfare of its work-people, the factories of Messrs. Jos. Crosfield and Sons, Ltd., at Warrington, being designed and planned on the most modern and approved principles, for the double purpose of turning out a soap which shall be in name and in fact “ Per-
284

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

fection," and of surrounding the employees with hygienic and, indeed, pleasurable conditions.

As with the products I have mentioned, so in other departments of productive activity the grocery trade is quite abreast of up-to-date requirements. One of the latest and still flourishing examples of this course of things is the gigantic jam-manufacturing business presided over by Sir William Hartley. Nearly fifty years ago, William Hartley was a lad of thirteen arrayed in white apron and busy attending customers in a little Lancashire grocery shop at Colne. So effectively did the lad help his mother in the business that by the time he had reached the age of sixteen the little shop had ceased to provide scope for his growing energies. He embarked on the wholesale business. It was then, when his trade was going forward by leaps and bounds, that he took what he says himself was the most important step in his business career. He used to buy his jam from a local maker, but became dissatisfied with the quality. In 1871, he determined to commence the making of his own jam, although the work was quite new to him. After some failures, however, success crowned his efforts, and his first year's output was one hundred tons. Since then he has never looked back, and at the present time Sir William Hartley's two factories, the one at Aintree, the other in London, can turn out, on an average, twice the

THE GROCERY TRADE

quantity in a day that, at commencing, he was able to make in a year. Sir William Hartley's career, interesting as it is in itself, is a typical illustration, which has gone on almost before the eyes of the present generation, of the evolution of many of the large manufacturing houses. First the retail grocery, then the wholesale, and finally the giant factory, turning out many thousands of pounds' worth of goods annually, which are found in every grocer's shop in the three kingdoms. Sir William Hartley has been a most generous benefactor to numerous charitable institutions, both in Liverpool and in London, and his business is conducted on a basis of sharing a proportion of the profits with the employees. Unlike most other large concerns, the founder and proprietor has not turned his business into a limited company. He was honoured with a knighthood in November 1908.

Biscuit-making by machinery is another illustration of the science and art of engineering coming to the grocer's aid to extend his stock and fill his shop with hitherto unheard-of dainties. This development may be said to date from 1831, when Mr. Jonathan Dodgson Carr, the son of a Kendal grocer, commenced business in a small way as a miller and baker on the outskirts of Carlisle. He soon saw that there were great possibilities before a trade in biscuits packed in tins and so made that they would keep fresh and

286

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

crisp for some time, and his success in the North of England justified his hopes. Necessity, ever the mother of invention, thus led to a more expeditious way of making biscuits than the old manipulation by hand. Hitherto the manufacture of biscuits by machinery (except in the case of ship's biscuits for the Navy) had been a purely manual process. Mr. Carr designed a machine on the lines of the printing press for cutting and stamping the biscuits. He was able to turn them out in ever-increasing quantities; and so great was the success of his ingenuity and enterprise that in 1841 he was honoured by being appointed biscuit-baker to the Queen by special warrant. Up to this date he was the sole maker of machine-made fancy biscuits in the United Kingdom. Since then, of course, every biscuit factory has become a veritable hive of the most delicately adjusted and complicated machinery, but Carr and Co. ever keep pace with the times, under the able directorship of the grandsons of their founder. They have several customers on their books of fifty and more years' standing, who witness to the avidity with which the retail grocer took up the new and growing trade. James Douglas, of Kendal, who commenced business in Kendal fifty-seven years ago, remembers the time when the only biscuits sold were Carr's "Soda," a small tin of which cost half a crown. An immense variety is now

THE GROCERY TRADE

offered him by the same house, including the well-known "Café Noir" and "American Crackers," each of which was originally made by Carr and Co. It is worthy of note that in 1857, ginger-nuts, for example, were sold wholesale at 62s. per cwt. The price is now 55s., a reduction made possible by the lower price of ingredients such as sugar, and the lower rates for carriage.

But Carr and Co. were not to be alone in their adoption of machinery, especially in the South of England, and friendly rivalry soon sprang up.

It was in 1841 (the date of Carr's warrant of Royal appointment, curiously enough) that an ambitious and determined young man, George Palmer by name, who, with a knowledge of the milling and baking business, had the genius of a born mechanical engineer, went to Reading. Here he found established Mr. Thomas Huntley, who had been in business as a confectioner since 1826. The two became associated, and Mr. George Palmer at once set about adding new life and vigour to the business, by turning his mechanical skill to account in the introduction of machinery. Ten years more saw the rapidly developing firm with such distinction to its credit that, at the Exhibition of 1851, they received the bronze medal, the highest award given to the biscuit trade.

To-day one may journey to Reading, and there witness the vast factories of Huntley and Palmers,

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Ltd. The original founders of the firm have passed away, but eight of their lineal descendants are now directors of the company and preside over the activities of nearly 7000 work-people.

On every hand, too, proofs of the generosity and public spirit of members of the firm can be seen, a statue of Mr. George Palmer standing in the principal street of Reading as that of one whom his fellow citizens delighted to honour.

The firm has done but little, comparatively, to advertise its wares; yet what grocer could do without his consignments of Reading biscuits? It is noticeable, too, that Huntley and Palmer were the pioneers of the cake trade for the grocer, their "Genoa," "Sultana," and other cakes, neatly wrapped and labelled, being the first examples of such products handled by the trade.

The next of the great biscuit firms to be founded, in order of time, was that of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd. Six years after the triumph of Huntley and Palmers at the great Exhibition, namely, in 1857, Mr. James Peek, a brother of Richard Peek, the founder of Peek Bros. and Winch, tea merchants, of Eastcheap, invited Mr. G. H. Frean, a Devonshire miller, to join him in the establishment of a biscuit business in London. Later Mr. J. B. Mead and Mr. John Carr joined the firm, and rapid progress ensued. An era in its progress was the gaining of a medal at the exhibition of 1862,

THE GROCERY TRADE

and shortly afterwards the firm introduced the "Pearl" biscuit, which was the product of an important step in advance in the improvement of biscuit-making machinery, the new apparatus dispensing with the appliance called a "docker."

Later, it was an epoch in the history of the biscuit when Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd., of South London, put their "Pat-a-Cake" on the market, only to be compared to that earlier event when Huntley and Palmers' "Colonial" first made its appearance. The times have indeed changed since "Osborne," "Milk," and "Lunch," and the almost obsolete "Nic-Nac" and "Picnic" biscuits made up the grocer's stock of this article.

The present directorate of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd., includes Messrs. Arthur Carr and Ellis Carr (sons of the John Carr above mentioned), but no member now bears either of the original names. The business has grown from a small concern employing but a few hands to one having a pay-roll of close upon 3000 names.

Then, again, such Scotch firms—since domiciled in magnificently built and arranged factories in London—as Macfarlane, Lang and Co. and McVitie and Price have familiarised us with that toothsome delicacy from the Land o' Cakes—to wit, shortbread.

These facts remind us that were it not for the immense number and variety of labour-saving appliances in the shape of machines for turning

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

out these and every variety of biscuit and cake (Messrs. Huntley and Palmers, for instance, now list over 400 distinct varieties), the grocer could neither sell these delightful wares at an almost nominal cost nor could the great firms I have mentioned justly boast of their present vast developments.

If England is the home of plenty as regards all manner of delicacies for the table, sold at marvellously moderate prices, then the grocers' shops are the cupboards which the magic touch of but a few pence can open to well-nigh the poorest of our countrymen. The grocer, from being the purveyor of luxuries to the rich, has become the people's indispensable furnisher of conveniences, necessities, and delicacies, whose name is legion indeed.

All the enterprise and even daring, the eagerness to find fresh fields and cultivate new pastures, of which I have given some indication, has been welcomed and supported by the retail grocers, who have opened their doors to novelty without hesitation. The result has been huge fortunes in many cases for the manufacturer. However much the old merchant-grocer prided himself on his position among his fellow citizens, it pales into insignificance compared with the manufacturing kings and merchant princes in the trade of to-day, merely to catalogue whose names would fill a chapter.

THE GROCERY TRADE

On one hand, it is an article of food or drink the production of which has been either suggested or made possible by chemical and mechanical skill as well as commercial foresight and enterprise; on the other, the same causes have produced improved articles for domestic use or comfort. If cocoa and improvements in its manufacture are the theme, one can recall not only the names of Fry and Cadbury, but those of an Epps or a Rowntree. The former, now connected with the firm of James Epps and Co., Ltd., dates its prominence from 1830, when Dr. John Epps, a homœopathist, invented the cocoa which is indissolubly linked up with the phrase "grateful and comforting." The latter name is that of the great manufacturing firm founded by a scion of the grocery trade in York. In 1860, Henry Isaac Rowntree employed but one clerk and one warehouseman in the manufacture of cocoa. He was joined by his brother Joseph in 1869. In 1886 they put their "Elect" cocoa on the market, and to-day they employ between three and four thousand hands, among social-economic conditions which leave nothing to be desired. Mr. Joseph Rowntree, the Chairman of the Company, takes a great interest in the housing and temperance problems, and the garden village at Earswick, near York, is a step towards the realisation of his ideals.

Or turn we to the subject of pickles and

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

saucers and suchlike gastronomic delicacies, and the name of "Lazenby" immediately tells us of the three centuries' reputation of a firm founded in the days of George II. As far back as 1848 Thackeray could incidentally write of at least one of Lazenbys' preparations in a manner that bore witness that it was of world-wide fame. Said he: "Those who know the English Colonies know that we carry with us our pride, pills, prejudices, Harvey's saucers, cayenne peppers, and other Lares, making a little Britain wherever we settle down."

Or do my readers contemplate an article of concentrated nourishment like the preparations so familiar under the names of "Bovril" or "Lemco," and again we find that chemistry has invented, mechanical ingenuity has produced, and commercial enterprise has pioneered the placing into the grocer's hands of new and profitable articles of trade. Such men as Baron Justus von Liebig and the late J. L. Johnstone (the founder of Bovril, Ltd.) should be honoured ones in the annals of the grocery trade. And in the departments of domestic articles, such as blue and blacklead, the name of Reckitt is justly termed a "household" one. The house was founded in 1840 by the late Mr. Isaac Reckitt, and keeping pace with the developments of chemical and mechanical science, it has continuously grown until at the present time the

THE GROCERY TRADE

firm of Reckitt and Sons, Ltd., employs upwards of 4000 hands, numbering among its directorate Sir James Reckitt, Bart., and Mr. T. R. Ferens, M.P. Much could also be said about the provision side of the trade in this connection, of the improvements in the curing and preparing of bacon and other products of the pig, in cheese-making, in the production of butter, on the factory and other systems, did space allow. Margarine, for instance, is an important new industry which owes its existence and rapid and astonishing development to the research of the chemist and the invention of the engineer. Whilst fifty years ago the production of a poor and unpalatable substitute for butter was only in its earliest infancy, to-day such a firm as that of Van der Berghs, Ltd., or that of Otto Monsted, Ltd., is capitalised at over a million, and employs hundreds of machines and thousands of hands. The trade in butter, cheese and bacon, as well as that in margarine, has, of course, been very beneficially affected in the direction of the equalisation of prices by the introduction of the cold-storage system, whereby perishable goods are kept fresh for an indefinite length of time. Steamers elaborately equipped with refrigerating machinery now bring the dairy produce of Australia, New Zealand and Canada to the grocers' shops of these shores in its pristine freshness and in perfect condition, and on the

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

arrival of large consignments, there is no need for the market to be flooded since the surplus remaining unsold can be cold-stored. Chocolate makers, also, use the invention with the best results in improving their products, while it enables them to give much better value at a reduced price.

The grocer and his trade have felt to the full the influences I have merely been able to indicate briefly in this chapter. His shop is the index to what would be in detail a vast and impressive study. In fine, these great manufacturing houses may be likened to huge reservoirs of food-supply scattered all over the country, whilst the tens of thousands of grocer's shops are the local distributing stations, the sources, so to speak, which the teeming population of these islands can with a humble bronze coin or two tap for the good things that they pour out for its comfort and delight. Thus the whole trade, manufacturing, wholesale, and distributing, co-ordinates in one whole in a marvellous manner, concentrating the application of human thought, ingenuity, and energy to the problems of the food-supply of the nation in perfect order and with unqualified success, and thereby takes its full share in maintaining and expanding England's manufacturing supremacy and incidentally her social well-being.

CHAPTER XV

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

A CHARACTERISTIC which may well call for a few remarks is the immense use made of modern advertising by those connected with the trade.

With regard to this, I have already referred to the eye which such a retailer as Sir Thomas Lipton, or such a manufacturer as Mr. W. H. Lever, has had for the potentialities of publicity, taken in its widest sense. The opportunity does not occur every day to send a procession of fifty drays through the streets of a great city laden with a single purchase of tea and heralded by a brass band. Still there are other forms of creating a continual impression, on the principle of the constant dropping which wears away a stone. From the modest announcement of Burgess's in No. 1 of the *Times* to the whole page in the *Daily Mail* or the *Telegraph* is a long cry ; but time and again the great manufacturers, and sometimes the great retailers, have ventured on this form of truly attention-compelling advertisement. The hoardings, once almost monopolised

296

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

by the flaming posters of theatre or circus, now would lack some of their wonted brilliance did not the artistic designs of Pears, of Mazawattee Tea, of Lever Bros., of Cadburys, Frys or Epps, or of Bovril, Oxo or Nestlé, greet the eye at every corner of the town. During the day these attract the gaze of the passer-by, but, when night has fallen, there flash out from huge sign-boards, aspiring skywards, illuminated reminders that this tea, or that jam, is the best in the solar system!

It was essential, on the part of the manufacturer, not only that he should be able to produce large quantities of a particular article, and gain the support of the retailer to place the product on his shelves, and in his windows, but that he should also take steps to acquaint the public generally that such an article was worth purchasing.

The manufacturers, therefore, through the advertising columns of the public press, and through the medium of the poster, have sought to outvie each other in eulogising their various products.

The art of publicity, however, is not so easy in practice as it would appear. To be successful, either an inherent genius or a specialised training is essential. An amusing instance of the amateur advertiser came on in the Court of Exchequer, on July 6, 1864, before Mr. Baron Bramwell

THE GROCERY TRADE

and a common jury, when there was tried the case of Gammanway and James, it being an action to recover damages for a libel.

The plaintiff was a grocer, at No. 165 in the same street as the defendant. In the February before, there was some rivalry between them, and plaintiff put out a handbill that he would supply “ $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. best black or mixed tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. best coffee, 2 lb. finest raw sugar, 1 lb. fine new raisins, 1 lb. fine new currants, 2 lb. fine Patna rice, 1 oz. pepper, 1 oz. mustard and $\frac{1}{2}$ -oz. mixed spice, worth 3s. 6d., for half a crown.” About the same time defendant sent out a notice that “20,000 sugar-basins and jugs would be given away in commemoration of the success attending the introduction of a really first-class tea.” All buyers of half a pound of tea at 2s. 8d. would have a sugar-basin *and* cream-jug, and all buyers of $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. a sugar-basin *or* cream-jug. This bill concluded :

When James decides on giving anything,
He gives a present worthy of a King.

In March, defendant issued a second handbill to the effect that another 50,000 sugar-basins and cream-jugs would be given away, in consequence of so many thousands of respectable housekeepers not being able to obtain James’s present in February.

At the same time plaintiff said he would give

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

a pair of cut-glass tumblers, worth 1s. 6d., to every purchaser of half a pound of tea, and one tumbler with a $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb.

Rivalry ran high in this way, until defendant was tempted to send out a composition by his own special poet, and it was as follows :

Some meet the times by meeting face to face
Their creditors in an attorney's place,
And offering to discharge their debts all round,
by paying them five shillings in the pound.
Such men can well afford to make it known
They'll give you 3s. 6d. for half a crown :
Why don't they say they'll give ten bob in full,
In teas and groceries, for half a bull ?
The thing would pay, and find both food and raiment
To those who post a crown for a pound payment.
James don't do this, but nobly stands his ground
By paying twenty shilling in the pound ;
And when he gives away a little present
He does it in a manner that is pleasant.
James meets the times by selling famous tea
Renown'd for straight and matchless quality.
Yes, meets the times by meeting all his friends
With smiling faces, for the tea he vends,
Nothing can beat it, and the crafty dodge
of 3s. 6d. for half a crown is fudge.
Poplar is far too shrewd and far too wise
to be thus caught by Mr. Compromise ;
Oh ! No, to go to James's, where they get
The finest tea they ever tasted yet.

Stimulated by the success of this squib, defendant exploded a second, entitled " Freddy's

THE GROCERY TRADE

Tumblers," in which he expressly connected plaintiff with the poem, and referred to the tumblers and sugar-basins.

A third libel was headed "Riding the High Horse," and defendant said: "The horse we have ridden since we came to Poplar has been our famous racer, Old Souchong, who has won a great many cups for us." The fourth libel was called "A Laughable Affair," and had a wood-cut of a person riding a horse at full gallop, the rider holding on by the tail of the horse and sitting with his back to its head. The bill itself said:

Let a grocer mount horseback, he often will fail;
Get up the wrong side, with his face to the tail.
One of the most ludicrous events that perhaps ever
Occurred, took place the other day at Poplar.

A certain grocer, who had taken a great fancy for equestrian exercise, had his big horse brought to the door by a porter, who acts as groom, when, to the dismay of his wife, and the laughter of his neighbours, he got up the wrong side, and before he could recover himself, the horse cantered off, the poor rider holding fast by the animal's tail and calling lustily for help, and an old Scotch woman bawled out:

"He's gane away, he's gane away, hold tight, my
dear good man;"

"I will, I will, but oh! dear me, do stop him if
you can;"

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

To stop him was no easy matter ; he broke into a gallop, and did not pull up until he reached Three Colts' Street, Limehouse. Johnny Gilpin's ride was nothing to the excitement caused by seeing :

The Horse a-galloping like all his kind
When they feel anything hold on behind ;
But how shall we describe the Simon Pure
The people hallooing, " There goes a cure,"
His bristles up like a pig's in a squall
His hat gone on a voyage to Blackwall
But we have said enough to set boys chaffing,
And all the Nation, (if they knew it) laughing.

These were the libels complained of, and it is needless to say that the court was in a state of continual laughter during the progress of the trial, which resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff. Damages £10.

More businesslike, and certainly as profitable, a form of advertising—compared with the foregoing—is the use of the printed price list ; the grocer of to-day of any pretension sends out a well-compiled list, and in it the manufacturer yet again flaunts his wares. On 'bus and electric car, Lipton reminds all the people (they already know it, but in trade " out of sight, out of mind " is the rule) that the " finest tea the world produces " is to be obtained at his stores ; a certain pill is " worth a guinea a box," a certain cocoa is ever " grateful and comforting," and a certain milk " has the largest sale in the world."

THE GROCERY TRADE

These are closely followed in the use of such media by others, whose passion for publicity is inspired by their determination to create a strong demand for their goods. The manufacturer arouses the desire by a direct appeal to the consuming public. "Ask your grocer for it!" is the concluding recommendation of his announcement, and thus the distributor sees trade being made for him—only, alas, at times the profit on these advertised goods is not what might be called a "living" one. To this end the Proprietary Articles Trade Association, formed some years ago by the zeal of an enterprising chemist, Mr. Glyn Jones (who has since been called to the Bar), has sought to link retailers together in an effort to prescribe a minimum price for the goods in question. This society, under the influence of the Grocers' Associations, has lately shown more vigorous signs of life. These efforts have been supplemented by the practice of many manufacturers—as, for instance, Messrs. J. A. Sharwood and Co., Ltd.—to prescribe a minimum price for their goods.

Whilst referring to this subject of advertising, I must not fail to note that present-giving with tea is one of the forms which it has taken within the last generation.

One often comes across the shop-window full of all sorts of the cheapest and showiest domestic articles, items of wearing apparel and what not.

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

On investigation it will be found to be the depôt of a present-giving tea company. The ordinary grocer, when he sells a tea of fair quality and value at 2s. per lb., makes a moderate profit. The present-giver makes three. For 2s. the purchaser gets a pound of one-and-fourpenny quality tea and a sixpenny-halfpenny jug. Thus there is a profit of $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ on the tea, $3d.$ on the crockery, and an extra $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

However, this class of competition has not had a very far-reaching effect on the legitimate grocer. The same can hardly be said of the unscrupulous way in which tea has of late been advertised. Announcements in this connection have been worded either directly to assert, or at least to suggest, to the unthinking that for 1s. 6d., or even 1s. 4d., a pound of the best possible tea can be procured by the customer. With such advertisements sown broadcast throughout the country, especially in the populous centres, the taste for tea is in danger of being still more debased than has yet been the case. Seeing that at recent public sales of tea the prices have ranged as high as 4s. 4d. for Orange Pekoe and 4s. 6d. for China teas, I do most certainly echo the protest of many grocers who view such unscrupulous methods with abhorrence, especially when, on paying my fare in a public conveyance, I have a ticket, bearing on one side the following wording, thrust into my hand :

THE GROCERY TRADE

The very Best	$\frac{1}{4}$	TEA. Why pay more ?
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Many efforts have been put forth by the retail grocers to disabuse the public of the idea that best tea can be bought for one shilling and fourpence, but probably the most unique is that of a Colchester grocer, who advertised as follows :

“ Ananias might have sold you best (?) tea at 1s. 4d., but George Washington would not, neither will —— the tea-trader. Test honest value against an equivocal ‘best.’ My —— Blend, 1s. 4d., equals any ‘best’ at the price. Many better grades for discretionary tastes.”

It is hardly necessary to remind even the non-trade reader that “ the very best ” tea is a doubtful description, to say the least of it, of tea that may be retailed, at a profit, at 1s. 4d. per lb.

Trade advertising has taken many novel forms during the past few years. A soap firm offers pianos, sewing-machines, tea and coffee services, and numerous other prizes, to the members of the public who return the largest number of its wrappers; a tea firm offers a motor-car to the customer who composes the best Limerick on its tea; a biscuit firm invites its 20,000 London

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

grocers and their assistants as its guests to the Crystal Palace for a day's outing—are but typical instances of the race for popularity.

But enough has been said on the aid of advertisement in the trade, which is a subject in itself well-nigh inexhaustible.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

No one can pretend to write the history of the grocery trade in this country and not at the same time make frequent mention—as I have, indeed, done in these pages—of the Worshipful Company of Grocers. As a matter of fact, much of the history of the trade is bound up, and that inextricably, with the history of the Company. But if that be so, the reader will ask, Why, at the present day, does one hear so little of the connection between the Worshipful Company of Grocers—which still, he will remember, occupies a proud position in the City of London—and the trade from which it takes its name? He may go on to inquire whether, in fact and reality, the Grocers' Company is anything more than a name at the present time. And if he investigates at all into the matter, he will soon find out that the Company has a very real and substantial existence; that it has a fine building on one of the most valuable sites in the City; that it meets periodically, not only to manage its affairs,

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

but to take part in sumptuous festivities; and that it has property which brings in a yearly income of at least £40,000.

All this will still further stimulate the imagination to ask, Why, then, in the contemporary life of the grocery trade, is not the power and influence of this great Company of Grocers felt? Why is not some of this huge income spent in some way for the good of the trade, as, for instance, the benefit of its charities, or the advancement of the status of its members? And if he should have the authoritative answer given him that the Company is absolutely free of any obligations to the trade from which it takes its name, the reflection would be forced upon him that this was not always so; that if the obligation had lapsed, surely this was on the whole an undesirable state of things, and that if it could be revived it would be the best justification for the Company's continued existence and a guarantee for its future usefulness, in agreement with the reasons for its first foundation and at least three hundred years of its early history.

The present position, therefore, of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, and the attitude that Company takes up with regard to the grocery trade, more especially as regards the dispensation of its enormous funds and, generally speaking, its obligations or responsibilities towards those tradesmen whose name it holds,

THE GROCERY TRADE

are questions of obvious interest both to grocers as a class and to the general public. I say the general public, because, while the qualifications of those who purvey the public's food are clearly a matter of public concern, it is unquestionable that at one period of its history the Grocers' Company of London was charged with the responsibility of superintending, in the public interest, both the food-supply and the technical qualifications of those who vended it. The Grocers' Company had not only to "garble" spices and to look to the purity of these and other articles of food, as well as drugs, but had also to attend to the technical training of the grocers themselves, and to see that they carried on their trade in an honest and honourable manner.

No one can rise from a perusal of the records of the Grocers' Company at Grocers' Hall without feeling how solicitous the old Courts of that Company were for the well-being of the trade with which they were proud to be associated, and also how general was the desire among members of the trade to recognise the value and importance of the Company to their calling. It enrolled their apprentices, it appointed trade inspectors, *i.e.*, searchers to supervise the sale of food and drugs, it exercised judicial authority over the members of the trade, it interposed between the interloper and the legitimate trader,

303

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

it petitioned the Common Council when local trade customs were jeopardised, and it petitioned Parliament when trade interests were assailed. In addition to this it looked after the helpless and decayed members of the trade. Nevertheless, it has been contended that the Company never was a trade company; and that although property had constantly been given or bequeathed to it as representing the trade, that property does not now belong in any sense to the trade, is not and never was intended for trade purposes, and is at the control of the Company, for such objects as the Court of Assistants of the Company itself may at any time determine. The theory is that the word "grocer" as meaning a member of the Grocers' Company of London, and as meaning a retail trader, are two totally distinct words. A "grocer" in the Company's sense is not a "grocer" by trade at all; and the "art and mystery" of a grocer does not mean a knowledge of spices and tea and sugar, and the trade in these commodities, but only an acquaintance with the correct methods of dispensing or receiving charity, or eating sumptuous dinners, as practised within the sacred Hall of the Company.

The charter granted to the Company by William and Mary in 1690—the fifth charter the Company had obtained, and which restored the prestige and privileges of which Charles II.'s arbitrary

THE GROCERY TRADE

writ of "Quo Warranto" had deprived it—is still in existence; and it declares "that all persons who now exercise, or who shall ever hereafter exercise, the mystery or art of grocers, and the several arts or mysteries of confectioners, druggists, tobacconists, tobacco-cutters and sugar-bakers, or refiners of sugar in the City or within three miles round it, are and shall be part of the body corporate and politick of the aforesaid wardens and commonalty" of the Grocers' Company. These words and the term "grocers" plainly refer to the traders who dealt in the groceries of those times; just as we should take the words "confectioners," "druggists," "tobacconists," and "refiners of sugar" to refer to the traders who similarly dealt in confectionery, drugs, tobacco and sugar-refining.

The historical continuity of the Grocers' Company since the time of William and Mary's charter is easily traced, although the details are somewhat obscure now and then. By its losses in the Great Fire the Company was weakened financially, whilst the trade it represented was ever growing in numbers and in independence. Thus the Company's powers of control fell into desuetude; and gradually it became a kind of close corporation. The first spur to financial revival appears to have been the leasing of the Hall to the Bank of England.

This brought in a good round sum, while other

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

property in London, which had been entrusted to the Company (for the good of grocers, by well-disposed persons who desired to benefit the grocery trade), continued to share in the enhancement of value which all sites in London have undergone in the course of the vast city's evolution. London has grown, the Company has prospered.

At the present moment, taking merely a statement officially made by the Company in 1882, the Grocers' Company enjoys an annual revenue of £40,000 a year. I find that the corporate income of the Company was £37,000 in 1879; the trust income £1000. Of the former sum £29,000 consisted of the rents of house property in the City of London or in Middlesex, while of the latter sum such rents yielded about £500 or £600. By far the greater part of the £29,000, however, arose from the lands charged with the £500 or £600; in other words, the greater part of the "corporate" income of the Company consists of "surplus revenue" arising (the Commissioners say) from the increase which has taken place in the value of the estates which the Company holds, subject to charitable trusts. The real estate held by the Company in their corporate right consists of house property in the City of London. The net rental is apparently (remark the Commissioners) about £30,000 a year, the gross rental must be considerably more. More than £20,000

THE GROCERY TRADE

a year is derived from premises let on long leases, the remainder from premises let at rack-rent. There are between seventy and eighty holdings, consisting of shops, warehouses, banks and offices, in Foster Lane, Cornhill, Cannon Street, Old Jewry, Mincing Lane, Cheapside, Gracechurch Street, Ludgate Hill, Upper Thames Street, &c. The Company did not state in their return the gross estimated rental of the portion of this property let on long leases. With regard to personalty, it appeared that the Company had invested in the purchase of stocks the portion of the purchase-money of their Irish lands of which they had received payment, namely, £112,401, and also some considerable accumulation of surplus income; they derive from dividends about £400 a year. The Company's plate, wine, pictures, &c., are insured for £42,000. They have in their gift nine ecclesiastical benefices—those of All Hallows, Bromley-by-Bow; St. Anthony, Stepney; St. Paul's, Homerton; Northill, Ugborough, Bucknell and Fordon, wholly so; and those of St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Stephen, Walbrook, partly so. The Company's Irish estate was sold in 1874-76 for £157,256; and this amount was invested in the names of the Wardens. From year to year large balances—£11,969, £8272, and so on—are carried forward.

The trade will be interested to learn how

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

some, at least, of this vast income is disbursed. Large sums are given annually towards education. In an address upon education which Mr. W. E. Gladstone delivered at Greenwich in 1875, he took occasion to refer to the need for greater efficiency among British artists and workmen, and while agreeing that this could only be attained in the main through the individual mind and will, he expressed the hope that he would live to see a great deal of the work of more advanced education undertaken by the City Companies. Continuing, he remarked :

“I have not been consulted by the London Companies, but if so, I would have besought and entreated them to consider whether it was not in their power to make themselves that which they certainly are not now, illustrious in the country, by endeavouring resolutely and boldly to fulfil the purposes for which they were founded.”

The outcome of these remarks was the formation a few years later of the City and Guilds of London Institute, towards which the City Companies, including the Worshipful Company of Grocers, made handsome contributions. At the present time the Court of the Grocers' Company subscribe £1000 annually towards the upkeep of this Institute, and by virtue of its grants thereto is entitled to nominate eleven

THE GROCERY TRADE

Governors, two members being Governors on the Council, and one member of the Council Executive Committee. In many other directions the Company is commendably carrying on and supporting a great educational work throughout the country, having several schools under its management, including the "Laxton" School, in Oundle, Northamptonshire (72 scholars), and the Grocers' Company School, a first-grade school, at Oundle (315 scholars). In 1873, the Company purchased a site at Hackney Downs for the establishment of a middle-class day school at a cost of £30,000, this sum being made up of £23,282, being certain doles and annual charges payable by the Company, and £6718 contributed by the Company. In 1889, a further sum of £4000 was expended in adding a swimming-bath and gymnasium, and in 1897, class-rooms were erected at a further cost of £2000. By a scheme of the Board of Education, and at the request of the Company, these schools were transferred to the London County Council in 1906.

In 1883, the Company adopted a scheme for encouraging original research in sanitary science by means of three Research Scholarships of £250 a year each, and a Quadrennial Discovery Prize of £1000. In addition to its educational work, the Company has been a most liberal contributor to the London Hospital, and distributes a large

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

amount annually to churches, hospitals, asylums and homes, benevolent societies, missionary societies, convalescent homes, almshouses, poor members, &c., the amounts so distributed during the last five years (including educational grants) being as follows: 1904, £21,104 6s.; 1905, £21,980 5s. 10d.; 1906, £18,748 19s. 1d.; 1907, £21,284 6s. 2d.; 1908, £18,234 9s. 4d. The Company are Governors of twenty-eight orphanages, asylums, and schools, and of twenty-four benevolent and pension societies, &c.

When one contemplates these figures and work, one is inclined to wonder what some of the old worthies of the Company would say were they permitted to see the result of "their great liberality and bounty," which, gathering in volume as it has come down through the centuries, is now conferring so many benefits upon the present generation. What probably would surprise them most would be the fact that so little of it is allowed to filter through to the benefit of that trade in which they took so much pride and interest, and which made this enormous amount of wealth possible. The same worthies would also probably be surprised to learn that the following illustrious men have had the honour of Grocer conferred upon them by the Worshipful Company: His Majesty King Edward VII., His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, the Marquis of

THE GROCERY TRADE

Lansdowne, Lord Roberts, Lord Wolseley, and many others.

The last occasion on which a member of the Worshipful Company of Grocers sat in the Lord Mayor's chair was in 1901, the member in question being Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Bart.

The Grocers' Company took part in the Lord Mayor's pageant, the car of the Company representing various ancient modes of weighing, emblematical of their ancient position as the custodians of the King's Beam and Weigh-houses.

The car attracted great attention, there being represented thereon a primitive hand-balance, as well as the more developed contrivances. The principle on which the earliest weighing instruments were constructed was represented on the car by means of a pole slung in a noose on a fixed standard, and weighted at the shorter end. The pole so weighted, when balanced horizontally, could be used for weighing if slung from a cross-bar on the shoulders of two men. The loaded end would act as an immovable counterpoise to whatever was hung on the free extremity, and the weight of such article be shown by nails driven in at definite distances along the beam from the swing point of equipoise, and so indicate the various degrees to which the counterpoise would balance when swung at these several points. ¶

In weighing by such an instrument, the sling would be moved along the pole until equipoise

316

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

was reached ; the point at which the sling rested told the weight. It was a form of stilliard in which the pivot and not the weight was moved.

This instrument was abolished in England in 1350, but is still employed among the peasantry of many nations, *e.g.*, in Russia, India, Norway, &c.

In 1882, 1883, and 1884 a Royal Commission inquired into the Livery Companies of the City of London, and in their report recommended that "the State should intervene, but only for the purposes of (1) preventing alienation of the Companies' property ; (2) *securing the permanent application of a considerable portion of the corporate income thus arising to useful purposes* ; (3) declaring new trusts in cases in which a better application of the trust income of the Companies has become desirable."

The words italicised surely indicated the proper and reasonable "cue" of the Company, upon which its Wardens and Court of Assistants might graciously and acceptably act without waiting for the compulsion of Parliament. What more "useful purpose" for the Company's funds than to assist the technical training and education of the grocers whose name it bears ? Or how could the Company more admirably prove its heredity from the ancient "garbellers of spices" and protectors of food purity than by equipping, say, a grocery trade laboratory where any London grocer could have his samples

THE GROCERY TRADE

analysed, for his own protection, at a quite nominal cost ? There are various ways in which a rich body anxious to benefit the present-day grocery trade could justify its command of wealth by applying it to "useful purposes." Perhaps, in the interests of the public as well as of the grocers, the very best and most practicable method would be to establish a permanent "Grocers' College" open free to every grocer's assistant or grocer, and duly equipped with a lecturing staff of experts.

Such a College might well be equipped with a museum of grocery products in various stages of manufacture from the raw material to the finished article. For example, would it not be most interesting and useful, to any member of the trade, to be able to call at such a college, and see samples of every kind of tea, or coffee, or rice, which finds its way to these shores ? The samples would form also the most useful adjuncts to lectures dealing with the subjects they represented. In addition, class-rooms (some fitted with the necessary apparatus for testing, tasting and blending tea, &c.) could be a feature of the building ; which might also include a library of works bearing on the trade and its products, a laboratory for analysis, and, quite possibly, a large hall. The latter would be in almost constant use for meetings of the many societies connected with the trade.

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GROCERS

By some such action as is here suggested "Grocers" of the Company could demonstrate, in the words of the song written for the Company's five-hundredth anniversary celebration, that

They've a spice of the Spicerer left in 'em yet *

And are Pepperers still if they're wanted.

And I fancy the general public would agree that in such a benevolent identification of themselves with the trade after which they are named, rather than in showing a desire to prove they have no connection with it, the Grocers' Company would be only acting in a seemly and becoming manner worthy of their ancient lineage.

* From the song written by Mr. C. W. Hallett expressly for the Grocers' Company's Five-Hundredth Anniversary celebration held in their Hall on May 9, 1845.

CHAPTER XVII

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

WHILST the grocery trade remains the same in essence, and, as we know it to-day, is the legitimate successor and descendant of the trade which first acquired the name some five hundred years ago, its characteristics have vastly changed. Think of the grocer of to-day in comparison with his predecessor at various dates as we have caught glimpses of him in the course of the foregoing pages, and something of these changes will be apparent. The life of the modern grocer is far more strenuous than that of his forefather of even fifty years ago; his life is a vastly more crowded one than that of his predecessor of Elizabeth's age or in the palmy days of the Restoration.

To-day the grocer looks upon all the world as his market, and draws his supplies literally from the ends of the earth. The swift liner bears home his tea, or brings him vast loads of bananas or currants, American canned goods or bacon, prunes or apricots from California,

320

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

butter and cheese from New Zealand. He is waited on at frequent intervals by the politest of emissaries from the wholesale houses, attired in immaculate clothes of the latest fashion and armed with a suavity of manner and a command of language that make a direct appeal to his imagination and interest. Not infrequently he drives up in a panting motor-car, which disgorges stacks of samples for the grocer's inspection. Hardly, perhaps, has "our esteemed representative" finished his call and climbed into his car than the telephone-bell in the grocer's offices jangles imperiously, and he is called up by a client, who wants a number of articles delivered five miles away in time for that evening's dinner. Nothing dismayed, the grocer orders out his own swift and light motor-van, and, before an hour has elapsed, the goods have been delivered, and the van stands once more before the shop ready for any similar requirement. In the meantime the post has arrived (it comes in five or six times a day, and even oftener in the large cities) bringing fresh orders, or price-lists and circulars from the wholesale houses, some of which are marvels of the lithographer's and printer's art. Overhead the arc lights burn with steady brightness (but for an occasional buzz), the shop echoes with the swish of a patent slicer or the "ting" of the bell in the patent till, and a steady stream of customers come and go, bearing with

THE GROCERY TRADE

them the produce of every country under the sun.

Thus modern science in its varied applications, together with the enormous output of new goods in almost infinite variety and of old goods in fresh and ever more attractive garb (alluded to in the last chapter), has introduced many new characteristics into the trade. In spite of the fact that the grocer is much more a species of manufacturers' agent—at least in appearance—than he was, the number of individuals whose calling is the grocery trade has vastly increased. The number of grocers to-day greatly exceeds that at any other period in the history of the trade.

Let us pause to glance at some of the figures which give an indication of the importance of the trade of to-day. With regard to the persons employed in the grocery and allied trades, the last statistics available are those of the census of 1901.

According to this there were 193,569 persons engaged in the occupation of "grocers, tea, coffee and chocolate dealers," of whom 151,184 were males and 42,385 females. There were besides 20,882 who described themselves as cheesemongers, buttermen and provision dealers, and this number was made up of 16,510 males and 4372 females. The grand total of those engaged in trade and described under these two headings is 214,451. Besides these there were

322

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

many thousands more or less connected with the trade who were classified under various headings, such as those of "jam, preserve and sweet makers," "sugar refiners," "chocolate and cocoa makers," and "mustard, vinegar, spice and pickle makers."

It would seem that the census returns do not distinguish between those who are master-grocers or shopkeepers and those who are assistants. The figures, however, are sufficiently imposing, and testify to the fact that a vast army of our fellow countrymen (not to speak of a considerable number of the weaker sex) are engaged in the grocery and provision trades of the country directly, besides those for whom these trades find employment either in manufacture or transport of commodities, indirectly.

Turning to the volume of the goods handled, here we have much more recent information. The Board of Trade returns for 1908 are astonishing reading. Our astonishment, however, is somewhat mitigated when the vast requirements of our present-day population is considered, and it is compared with that of the country at the beginning of the century.

That our imports of butter should have grown in a century from practically nothing to a yearly value of close upon twenty-five millions sterling is a striking comment upon the want of enterprise of our English and Irish farmers—or possibly

THE GROCERY TRADE

upon the conditions which surround them, many being of the nature of artificial restrictions which the Legislature should remove.

However that may be, our great-grandfathers—nay, our grandfathers—would have opened their eyes in amazement and incredulity could they have been shown the figures which I now quote merely as representative of other and similar startling increases.

The imports of tea into the United Kingdom in 1908 amounted to 323,469,333 pounds, valued at £10,734,415. Of this 275,239,751 pounds were retained for home consumption, representing the quantity of tea handled and distributed and redistributed mainly by the grocer. Another principal article is sugar, and here again the figures are stupendous, although of course in this case vast quantities are used as the raw material of various manufactures. Of this article 18,819,749 cwts. refined and 14,682,817 cwts. unrefined or raw were imported, the values being £12,185,787 and £7,817,640 respectively.

The imports of butter as compared with those of former generations are another subject of wonder, especially when it is considered that this, as a foreign or colonial trade, is the growth of comparatively but a few years. In 1908 4,210,821 cwts. of butter found their way into the United Kingdom, and these were valued at £24,080,912. So again with eggs. The immense

324

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

total of 2,185,208 thousands (equal to 18,210,070 long hundreds) of eggs were imported, worth £7,183,112. Cheese is another article gigantic quantities of which find their market in this country and are retailed by the grocer and provision dealer. The quantities for 1908 were 2,306,806 cwts., valued at £6,684,203.

The last article I will quote as a specimen of the huge quantities of imported products which mainly pass to the consuming population over the grocer's counter is coffee, of which 785,824 cwts., valued at £2,186,680, were imported. It is noteworthy, however, that only 260,675 cwts. of this were entered for home consumption ; for whilst the consumption of tea per head of the population in 1908 was 6·18 pounds, that of coffee was only 0·66 pound.

Pondering over the amazing facts and figures which the student may unearth for himself from the publications of the Government, examples of which have been given in this chapter, one is disposed to inquire, "Has the individual grocer and all that he represented in the past—the enterprise, the civic and public spirit, the generosity, the eye to the well-being of his fellow men—been submerged ? Does the trade still turn out men, or is it now merely the creator or fosterer of machines ? Do modern business conditions conduce to the moulding of character, or merely to the accumulation of wealth ? "

THE GROCERY TRADE

The answer may be summed up in the fact that the retail grocer's shop in our own day and generation has produced men worthy to rank with any of those whom former ages have possessed and been proud of. When one recalls the names and deeds of such men as Samuel Budgett, Sir Hudson Kearley, Sir William P. Hartley, Sir J. P. Gibson, Bart., M.P., Sir William Pink, John Williams, W. H. Lever, M.P., Sir Joseph Ellis, Sir Thomas Lipton, Sir W. H. Peek, Bart., M.P., Sir John Voce Moore, Sir Reginald Hanson, Bart., Sir James Duckworth, M.P., Sir John Mark, Thomas Francis Blackwell, John Ingram] Travers, Amos Hinton, Joseph Storrs Fry, and George Cadbury—many of whom are happily with us, but some of whom have not long passed away—and of many others, one cannot but feel that the high tradition of former times has been well and nobly maintained.

Take, for instance, the life of Sir John Voce Moore. Born at Stockport in 1825, he early entered the tea and coffee warehouse of his father. Whilst yet in his teens he was sent to London to take service with a firm of tea and coffee merchants in King William Street. At twenty-two he commenced business on his own account, and prospered from the first. In 1870 he joined the Corporation as a representative of Candlewick Ward; and three years later he

326

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

was found taking up the question of the adulteration of tea. By the pressure he brought to bear on the Legislature, through the Court of Common Council, a great reform was effected by the establishment of an adequate system of inspection of every "break" of tea landed on these shores. Subsequently the question of pure food in general engaged his attention, and found in him a strenuous advocate. Sir John Moore's public zeal gained for him the position of Alderman of the City in 1889, and that of Sheriff in 1893, when he was honoured with a knighthood. In 1898-99 he was Lord Mayor of London, his career being thus crowned with the highest distinction his fellow citizens had to bestow. All the time his name might have been seen over the door of his retail premises in the City, where it still remains.

Nor should I forget Sir Henry W. Peek, Bart., and M.P. for Mid-Surrey, head of the well-known tea firm of Peek Bros. and Winch, which dates its foundation from 1815.

As illustrating the different and more favourable conditions which surround the trade of to-day, the early history of the founder of the firm, Richard Peek, may be recalled. Richard was an assistant in a Devonshire village shop, when one day the press-gang made its appearance. With a possible greater love for the shop than the man-of-war, he avoided their unwelcome

THE GROCERY TRADE

attentions, and, obtaining a letter of introduction from the rector of the parish, he decided to tramp the long journey to London, taking advantage of an occasional ride in a carrier's waggon. Here, at six o'clock of a November evening, he ventured to call at the shop of Twinings in the Strand and ask for employment, and, after receiving the reply that nothing could be offered him then, but they would keep him in mind, he turned to leave. Unfortunately, or fortunately perhaps, he fell down an open cellar-flap, spraining his ankle and otherwise bruising himself. The humane tea-dealer had compassion on him, and kindly gave him a bed and attention; and, after his recovery, offered him employment. Later, Richard Peek was able to engage in business for himself and found the firm which has endured to the present day.

Sir Henry W. Peek, a later and distinguished head of the firm, was made a baronet in 1874. Among his philanthropic acts was a subscription to the London Hospital of £500, his firm also giving one of £1000. His cousin, Francis Peek, was also widely known for his philanthropic efforts in many directions.

Mr. Stanley Machin, a worthy descendant of the London merchants referred to in earlier chapters, is a gentleman connected with the grocery trade, in its manufacturing sections, of great energy and public spirit. He has been

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

actively connected with the old-established house of Batger and Co. for thirty years, a firm having a staff of considerably more than a thousand hands. Mr. Stanley Machin has strongly supported the development of commercial education, and his connection with the London Chamber of Commerce, of which influential body he is now President, is well known. His interest in the young men of the trade has been shown by his close association with the Grocers' Assistants' Benevolent Fund.

Another notable member of the trade, who is never tired of actively advocating its interests, is Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P. Mr. Lever commenced his career as a retail grocer, a fact to which he has frequently alluded in his public speeches, and of which he is by no means ashamed. At present he is at the head of the largest firm of soap-makers in the world, whose factories and model village at Port Sunlight are great in extent and of universal fame. I well remember the first occasion on which I met this commercial Napoleon. I had been deputed by a certain trade organisation to seek his support, and having written to him for an interview, I received a courteous reply inviting me to visit him at his office in Liverpool. I attended, and explained the object of my presence. He listened very sympathetically, and cross-examined me with all the alertness of a practised K.C. as to the

THE GROCERY TRADE

foundation of the society, the scope of its operations, and other matters bearing thereon. At the close of the interview Mr. Lever pointed out that the calls upon him were varied and numerous, but he promised to consider what I had submitted to him; and, in wishing me good-bye, apologised for any disappointment he might have caused me. Two days afterwards I received a cheque from him for £100.

Distinguished alike for his strong personality and the vast influence he exercises on the trade is Mr. J. Innes Rogers, for nearly half a century connected with Messrs. Joseph Travers and Sons, Ltd. Since Mr. Rogers joined the firm in 1860 his career has been one of almost fascinating success. He has held, in succession, the positions of Deputy-Chairman, Chairman, and Vice-President of the London Chamber of Commerce, and, as an authority on trade questions, stands pre-eminent. In the course of his long public career he has given considerable attention to questions affecting the trade, including such important interests as the abolition of the sugar duties, the reform of the railway system, the greater purity of food, and the modernisation of the Port of London. His commanding position in the trade has, in recent years, singled him out for the unique distinction of "Commander of the Order of the Redeemer," conferred upon him by the Greek Government.

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

The President of the Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Society should also be mentioned. Sir Thomas Pink was born in London in 1865, and whilst yet a lad joined his father, Edward Pink, then in business in Holborn. The manufacturing firm, now E. and T. Pink, was founded in 1860, and since 1890 Sir Thomas has been managing director of the house, henceforth to be known as E. and T. Pink. To-day the factory covers five and a half acres. Sir Thomas Pink was knighted in 1904, and his benefactions to such trade charities as the Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Society are both munificent and frequent.

Turn for a moment to the provinces, and the record of such a man as Sir Joseph Ellis, of Newcastle, strikes one as worthy of the best ages of the trade. Sir Joseph was born and bred, so to speak, in the grocer's shop, his father and mother having a business in a large Yorkshire village. After many years of business prosperity he became Sheriff of Newcastle, in 1887-88, Mayor in 1890-91 and again in 1904-5, and is an Alderman of, and has served for twenty-four years on, the Newcastle Town Council. He had the honour of entertaining the late Mr. Gladstone when the historic Newcastle Programme was launched. Sir Joseph Ellis's opinion of the grocery trade is that, in spite of the thousand difficulties which have surrounded it of late

THE GROCERY TRADE

years, no trade in the country has made greater progress.

On a recent occasion he described the long hours to which he had been accustomed in his youth, as making it "a trade of white slaves."

Take, again, the case of Sir James Duckworth, M.P., F.R.G.S., whose knighthood was conferred in 1908. Born in 1840, Sir James, rising from a humble position in the trade, is to-day head of the firm of James Duckworth, Ltd., grocers, of Rochdale. He has long been connected with the public life of the great Lancashire weaving centre, and has served the office of Mayor for three years in succession, namely, from 1891 to 1893. Since 1906 Sir James Duckworth has represented Stockport in Parliament. His connection with the Methodist community is also intimate and honourable, he having been chosen as the delegate of the United Methodist Free Churches to the Ecumenical Conference at Washington in 1891, and as President of the same union of churches three years later.

Or turn to the West and we have in Mr. Joseph Storrs Fry a notable instance of the public-spirited generosity of a member of the trade. One of his gifts to the Convalescent Home on Durdham Downs, Bristol, amounted to over £10,000, whilst he has given most liberally to the Bristol General Hospital, Bristol University, and other local institutions. The citizens of Bristol,

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

in recognition of a life devoted to his fellow men, have conferred upon him the unique distinction of the honorary freedom of the city of Bristol.

From time to time the Press chronicles the demise of one of those who have figured largely in the trade or its branches, and tells of the fortunes they made. Thus Mr. John Burgess Knight, formerly head of the firm of John Knight and Sons, Ltd., died last year at the age of eighty-nine, leaving a net personalty of £118,522. Even from such an inconspicuous article as blacking vast sums have been derived, as, for instance, in the case of the late Mr. William Berry, of Manchester, who possessed at his death in 1895, £259,557; his brother, Mr. Thos. Berry, who died in 1907, leaving £350,737. Each gentleman left large sums to Manchester charities. Of two partners interested in the "Nugget" boot polishes, one left £152,937, and the other £100,373. The late Mr. T. F. Blackwell, head of the firm of Crosse and Blackwell, Ltd., a gentleman who perhaps enjoyed, in a more supreme degree than any other, the respect and confidence of the trade, and whose benefactions during his lifetime were very considerable, left the sum of £800,000.

Mr. Blackwell in his will recognised very handsomely the services of those who had been for so many years associated with him in the

THE GROCERY TRADE

vast business of which he was the honoured head. To three employees he left sums of £1000, to five others sums of £500, whilst other smaller amounts were bequeathed in a similar manner. He made no bequests to charitable purposes, as he stated in his will that he had liberally supported these in his lifetime, a fact which is common and grateful knowledge in the trade of to-day, and wherein he followed the noble example set by his respected father, who predeceased him in 1880.

Another recent will was that of Sir John Mark, a grocer and tea-merchant of Manchester, who died on April 3, 1909, and whose estate was valued for probate at £71,581 17s. 11d. The will included various legacies to employees, "in grateful remembrance of services rendered." Last year, again, the will of Mr. Charles Richard Burgis, a well-known Leamington grocer and magistrate, was proved at the gross value of £30,571 6s. 3d.—one more indication, if that were desired, that fortunes are made nowadays, equally as of yore, in the retail as well as in the wholesale departments of the trade. A parallel instance is that of the estate of Mr. Councillor Samuel Shirley, of Bristol, whose net estate was valued a few months ago at £27,193 13s. 2d. Mr. Shirley was perhaps one of the best known and most highly respected retail grocers of our times, and achieved a more than local reputation

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

as President of the Grocers' Federation, and as a constant office-bearer in that body.

The will of Mr. Richard Twining, J.P., of the well-known tea firm, may also be quoted. He died on March 25, 1906, aged ninety-eight, and left estate to the gross value of £162,831 5s. 1d., including personalty of net value £144,936 2s. 1d. Amongst his bequests were £100 left to his servant Annie Goodhall, £50 to the family nurse, £30 to his coachman, one year's wages to each indoor servant, £400 to the King's College Hospital, £100 to the Stanhope Street Public Dispensary, £100 to the King's College Convalescent Home, £100 to the London Diocesan Penitentiary, £50 to the Dental Hospital, Leicester Square, and £50 to the Cancer Hospital, Brompton. He had been for many years President of the Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Protection Society, a position which he held at his death.

The many instances of the public-spirited generosity of members of the grocery trade in the past can, of course, be paralleled by many occasions since, on which grocers have contributed to educational and kindred purposes from the fortunes they have made. For example, in 1864 Mr. John Denham, of Exeter, left £4000 to the infant school at Rock Street in that city, an establishment which he himself had founded in his lifetime. Incidentally it may be mentioned

THE GROCERY TRADE

that his will made provision also for £750 each to be bequeathed to the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, together with numerous other bequests.

In 1876 Mr. John Philpot left a legacy of £5000 to the Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Society. An equally noteworthy will was that of the late Mr. John Munro, J.P., of Elgin, which was proved on June 29, 1908. He left £6000 to the Provost and Council of Elgin, for the purpose of providing public baths, and the same sum for a like purpose at Forres. A sum of £1000 was also left to the Linchol Hospital at the latter place. To each of his employees in business £20 were bequeathed, and his dwelling-house was destined by his will, subject to the life-interest of his sisters, for a home for incurables.

Another very notable will was that of Sir Andrew Lusk, whose net estate was proved at but a little less than one hundred thousand pounds a few years ago. Sir Andrew, as is well known, commenced his commercial career in the grocery trade, and had been intimately connected with the Corporation of London, having served the usual offices of Alderman and Sheriff, and attaining the Lord Mayoral dignity in due course. Of the £96,301 14s. 3d. which represented his fortune, he left seven separate sums of £1000 each to various religious

336

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

and philanthropic objects, as well as sixteen sums of £500 each, and one of £200 for a like purpose.

Probably the most striking instance of trade generosity, however, was the foundation of the "National Gallery of British Artists," now popularly known as the "Tate Gallery," given to the nation by the late Sir Henry Tate, Bart., at a cost of over £190,000, as "a thank-offering for a prosperous business career of sixty years."

Sir Henry Tate's benefactions, however, were not confined to this one instance, many free libraries in South London testifying to his generosity, while in addition he built, at a cost of £30,000, the Hahnemann Hospital in Liverpool.

As evidence also of the public spirit of those grocers who had not such large sums to dispose of in their wills, one might recall two or three quite recent examples. Mr. R. S. Dyson, of Huddersfield, who died on March 30, 1909, left £100 each to the Huddersfield Infirmary and to the Tradesmen's Association of the same town. Mr. Enoch Rees, of Bridgend, who died on April 13 of the same year, left various sums of £100 downwards to different religious bodies, including the Welsh and English Baptists, the Congregationalists and the Methodists, besides legacies to the poor and to the local hospital. Mr. W. J. Slaughter, of Oxford, who died on February 4, 1909, was also a generous donor to the charities

THE GROCERY TRADE

of that city, leaving four sums of £50 each to as many beneficent objects.

The consideration of the trade for its less fortunate members has been continuously and conspicuously shown by the large sums regularly subscribed towards its numerous charities. Specially notable in this connection were the series of trade concerts organised at the Grocers' Exhibition some few years ago by Mr. G. F. Hearn, who acted as hon. director, and through whose efforts some six thousand pounds were handed over to various benevolent funds.

Nor should I forget the ready support given to the National Benevolent Fund for those employed in the trade. It was mainly owing to the encouragement given to the project by the late Sir Thos. F. Blackwell that I was able to inaugurate this Fund in 1904 and through the active interest which he continued to display therein, as its first President, together with valuable aid from Sir Jeremiah Colman, Bart., Mr. Leicester Reed and Mr. Stanley Machin, the Fund was permanently established.

Mr. Blackwell's initial contribution of one hundred guineas, and a similar sum from his firm, formed the nucleus of the Fund, and this generous lead was followed by handsome donations, amounting in the aggregate to over two thousand guineas, from Messrs. Huntley and Palmer, Ltd., Messrs. Cadbury Bros., Messrs.

338

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

Lever Bros., Ltd., Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons, Ltd., Messrs. James Epps and Co., Ltd., Messrs. Harrod's Stores, Ltd., Messrs. Holbrooks, Ltd., Messrs. Batger and Co., Messrs. J. & J. Colman, Ltd., Messrs. E. & T. Pink, Messrs. James Keiller and Sons, Messrs. W. Gossage and Sons, Messrs. Chas. Southwell and Co., Messrs. W. & A. Gilbey, Ltd., the Proprietors of THE GROCER, and many others.

The Grocers' and Tea Dealers' Benevolent Association, the Grocers' Federation Benevolent Fund, and the National Association of Grocers' Assistants have also been frequent partakers of the liberality of members of the trade.

In connection with the last-named association the name of Mr. Joseph Edge of Bolton will long be remembered as one who nobly assisted in its early development. Since his death it may be noted, in passing, his work as President has been continued by Lord Avebury, whose unselfish and praiseworthy efforts for over thirty-five years on behalf of the earlier closing of shops, will ever be gratefully remembered.

And what shall I say of the many contributions of the trade towards the solution of the social and economic problem of to-day? what of the individual enterprise—yea, and the individual courage—of men like Cadbury, Lever, Colman, Hartley, and many others, who not merely produce cocoa, or soap, or mustard, or jam, but at the same time seek to level up the conditions

THE GROCERY TRADE

of life and labour for the workers of our country, returning to the nation, through garden cities, prosperity-sharing schemes, and happier types of workpeople, some of the wealth gained through their industry?

It is hardly possible to point to any other great trade in this country which pours out its wealth in such profusion for the good of the nation as a whole.

The movement for increasing facilities for technical education, generally, found likewise liberal support from the Grocers' Company, as has been indicated in a previous chapter.

The various educational institutions of the country have also continually benefited by the large-hearted and enlightened benevolence of members of the grocery trade in the past, and the tradition is well maintained down to our own times. It is to be hoped—especially now that a movement for procuring for grocers' assistants facilities for increasing their business and trade knowledge is on foot and has, in the face of many obstacles, succeeded in establishing itself—that the example will be followed. That it has been in many cases is certain, and not the least memorable of these was the donation of £500 made four years ago by Mr. W. Powell Bowman, of the firm of Goodall, Backhouse and Co., to provide a prize shop for the assistant who, after two years' technical

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

instruction, should prove himself, in an examination open to all grocers' assistants, to possess the most complete practical and theoretical knowledge of his trade, and the still more recent donations of £500 from Sir William Tate, Bart., and £250 from Messrs. Cadbury Bros., towards the Institute of Certificated Grocers. These, the latest instances of zeal for education displayed in the grocery trade, will, it is hoped, be the precursors of many others.

But the same story of trade generosity could be almost indefinitely continued, did time and space permit. Times have changed since the early grocers and their predecessors, the pepperers, met together for benevolent and religious purposes. Money may not now be left by many a modern grocer to endow masses in perpetuity for the repose of his own soul or those of "his" brethren; but he supports his Benevolent Society whilst in life, and, if wealthy, in death he leaves a goodly slice of his fortune to purposes of practical charity. The spirit is the same, the mode of its manifestation is different; and it unites in one more way the grocer of the twentieth century with his ancestor of the fourteenth.

With the decline and fall of the apprenticeship system, and no adequate arrangement for ensuring that the recruits to the trade should receive training in its "art and mystery" in its

THE GROCERY TRADE

place, it is not surprising that many men should fail in business from want of skill and grounding in the principles of the trade.

Whilst in the palmy days of the grocer companies in London, Norwich and elsewhere, the apprenticing of youths to the trade was provided for, and no one might employ a journeyman unless he had been through the mill, for many years now every vestige of regulation has been swept away. It has however long been felt by the leading men in the trade that a change in this respect is not only desirable but absolutely necessary for the sake of its future. Some have advocated the revival of apprenticeship, which under proper conditions would be a most excellent thing. Others, whilst agreeing with them, have considered that some more instant and immediate remedy should be applied.

The fact that in most crafts the experience of the shop and work-room is being guided and supplemented by the provision of evening classes in technical subjects connected with the particular craft, has suggested the establishment of similar classes in the grocery trade. In Manchester, Mr. John Williams, in London and in many other towns, the Grocers' Assistants' Association, has pioneered this movement.

Speaking at Brighton in 1904, the President of the Assistants' Association, Mr. W. F. Pett, pointed out that

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

“ Among the other matters that have engaged our Council during the past year has been the subject of technical education for assistants engaged in the grocery, provision and allied trades. We regard this question as a most important one, as we are convinced that nothing has more conduced to the unsatisfactory conditions at present prevailing in the trade than the decline of the apprenticeship system and the lack of any special system of education for those who serve behind the counters of the grocery and provision trade. I am of opinion that if classes were instituted for the special instruction of assistants on such subjects as window-dressing, the operation of the Food and Drugs Acts, tea-blending and valuing, stock-taking, shop-management, &c., it would materially improve the trade, brighten the prospects of the assistants, and be the means of attracting a large number of young men who now enter other professions. With these classes arranged in our various commercial centres, there is no reason why, in the near future, it should not be possible for grocers’ assistants and grocers to be as proud of their calling as are chemists of theirs.”

As a result of these endeavours a committee was formed, consisting of representatives of the education authorities, employers and assistants.

THE GROCERY TRADE

For the last five years classes have been held throughout the winter months at various places, notably in London and in Manchester, and, at the close, examinations have been held, the subjects ranging from book-keeping to knowledge of trade-laws, the practical handling of such important commodities as tea, coffee and many other classes of goods, and the management of the retail shop in all its branches. The prize of a £500 shop, which, as I have noted, was offered by Mr. W. P. Bowman, was competed for by students from the classes in the autumn of 1908, being won by Mr. W. F. Tupman, of Bristol. A second prize, consisting of a silver cup and £20, given by Messrs. Nestlé and the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co., was won in this spirited contest by Mr. G. G. Duddles, of Clapham.

All this work for greater trade efficiency has led up to and made possible the establishment of the Institute of Certificated Grocers, which one may rightly regard as the latest development in the history of the trade.

The committee which I have mentioned as having been formed to further and superintend the work for technical education, at the suggestion of its secretary, debated the proposal for the formation of the Institute, and it was unanimously agreed that it was an undertaking for which the circumstances seemed urgently to

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

call. The like opinion was expressed by many of the most prominent men in the retail trade. In particular, Mr. John Williams (who had started the Grocers' Technical Committee in Manchester with a handsome donation of £100) was particularly favourable to the idea, and threw himself into the preliminary work of founding the Institute with the utmost ardour. With the old Technical Education Committee, called into being by the Assistants' Association, as a nucleus, a strong preliminary council was formed, and Sir William Anson, Bart., M.P., himself a prominent educationist, readily consented to be the first President of the Institute.

The occasion on which the Institute was launched was that of a dinner held at the Trocadero Restaurant, London, in September 1908, at which Mr. R. A. Tomlinson, President of the National Association of Grocers' Assistants, took the chair. The toast of the Institute was proposed by Sir William Anson, Bart., M.P., Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls' College. In the course of his remarks this great educationist said that he was sure every one present would wish well to such an institute as was proposed, because it would bring, he hoped, more and more into touch with advanced technical education the great mass of those concerned in a trade which played so large a part in the life of the nation, and would

THE GROCERY TRADE

give to that trade an efficiency which was based on knowledge.

Alderman F. C. Frye, J.P., President of the Metropolitan Grocers' Association, replied to the toast, saying, among other things, that he thought the institute would be of the greatest advantage to the trade as a whole, and that he was glad to be present to help inaugurate a new era in the trade.

Subsequently, on February 18, 1909, the Institute was publicly inaugurated at a dinner in London, at which Sir William Anson was in the chair, supported by the Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P. (an ex-Minister of Education), and such representative members of the trade as Mr. Knowles Edge, J.P. (the host of the evening), Mr. John Williams, Mr. John Hooke, Mr. J. A. Sharwood, Mr. Robert Cadman, Mr. John Cannon, Mr. E. W. Chaplin, Mr. R. J. Colbourne, Mr. Alfred Smart, Mr. F. C. Frye, J.P., Mr. C. P. Matthews, Mr. William Martineau, Mr. A. H. Crosfield, M.P., Mr. G. J. Nicholls, Mr. W. P. Bowman, Mr. J. H. Seaverns, M.P., Mr. E. W. Twining, Mr. J. R. Tooby, Mr. R. A. Tomlinson, Mr. G. R. Woodcock, and Mr. W. Rawson.

Preceding the dinner, a conference of trade representatives from all parts of the country had been held, and both there and at the dinner the founding of the Institute was hailed with satisfaction on all hands, and its career began

LATTER YEARS AND LATTER MEN

amidst the happiest auspices. Thus it should hardly fail of success. Its motto is "Trade efficiency," its purpose, the upholding and propagation of the principle, that the grocery trade, although the subject of modern development and influenced by the march of progress, is yet, as of yore, an "art, craft and mystery," that is to be learned if success in following it would be attained. The promoters of the Institute cannot be accused of not taking their trade seriously. They would have their zeal shared by all, and especially by the young men in the trade, so that the Institute may become the uplifting power in the world of grocery which the best element in it so ardently desires. The time will, it is hoped, come when the certificate of the Institute will be universally regarded as the indisputable guarantee of the holder's right to be denominated a grocer.

The mention of that word serves to remind us that this history of the trade would altogether have failed in its purpose, did it not assist in creating and arousing in the breasts of all those who profess and call themselves grocers a new or increased pride in their occupation. The trade is rich in historic association; it has taken a notable part in the commercial development of our country; it has produced in every age men of grit and business capacity, who have frequently been called upon by their fellow citizens to

THE GROCERY TRADE

assume the dignities and responsibilities of public life. The present age is no exception to that rule, and the success which attended our fore-runners in the trade is evidently waiting to be won by ourselves.

To gain that success and to be worthy of it, as well as of those men, "citizens and grocers," some of whom have been depicted in the pages of this book, two things seem to be necessary: first, a cheerful optimism, which feels confident that a trade with such a history as that of the grocer cannot fail to have a future which it is worth the while of any self-respecting man to share; and secondly, a respect for and right estimation of the trade and its dignity.

My sincerest hope is that my book will inspire both the one and the other.

APPENDIX I

THE FIRST CHARTER GRANTED TO THE GROCERS' COMPANY

*The 1st part of Patents of the 7th year of the Reign of
King Henry the Sixth*

(A.D. 1428)

For the Freemen of the
Mistery of Grocers of
the King's City of
London.

THE KING to all to
whom &c. greeting Know
ye that we of our special
favour and with advice and
consent of our counsel have

granted to our beloved Freemen of the Mistery of Grocers
of our City of London That the aforesaid Mistery and
every Member thereof be from henceforth in fact and
name one body and one perpetual Commonalty And
that the said Commonalty may yearly choose and
appoint from among themselves three wardens to super-
vise rule and govern the Mistery and Commonalty afore-
said and all the Members and businesses thereof for
ever And that the said Wardens and Commonalty may
have perpetual succession and a Common Seal to be
used for the businesses of the said Commonalty and
that they and their successors shall be for ever persons
fit and capable in law to receive and possess in fee and
perpetuity lands tenements rents and other possessions

THE GROCERY TRADE

whatsoever And that they by the name of the Wardens of the Commonalty of the Mistery of Grocery of London may implead and be impleaded before any Judges in Courts and Actions whatsoever And further of our more abundant favour and by advice and consent of our Counsel We have granted that the Wardens and Commonalty of the said Mistery may acquire lands tenements and rents within the City of London and suburbs thereof which are held of us to the value of Twenty marks per year To have and hold to them and their successors for ever towards the support as well of the poor men of the said Commonalty as of a Chaplain to perform Divine Service daily for our condition while we live And for our soul when we are dead And also for the condition and souls of all persons of the said Mistery and Commonalty and of all the Faithful Deceased according to the order of the Wardens and Commonalty in this behalf to be performed for ever Notwithstanding the Statute made concerning lands and tenements in mortmain or for that the lands tenements and rents so acquired are held of us in free Burgage as the whole City of London Provided nevertheless that it appear by Inquisition to be thereupon taken and duly returned in our Chancery that it may be done without damage or prejudice to us or our heirs or others whatsoever In testimony &c. Witness the King of Westminster 16th February.

APPENDIX II

COPY OF CHARTER GRANTED TO THE GROCERS' COMPANY AFTER THE RESTORATION

*Fourth Part of the Second Year of King William and
Queen Mary, of a Charter to the Wardens, etc., of
the Grocers of London, to Them and Their
Successors.*

The King & Queen : To all to whom, etc. Greeting :
Know ye that we, at the humble petition of the Warden
and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City
of London, and for the good rule of their society, of our
special grace, etc. have willed, ordained, declared and
granted, and by these presents for us and our successors
do will, ordain, etc., to the said wardens and com-
monalty, etc. That all and all manner of person and
persons who now exercise or hereafter shall exercise
the mystery or art of grocery and the separate arts or
mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacconist,
tobacco-cutter, sugar-baker or sugar refiner, in the
city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the
same, or within three miles &c. that from henceforth
for ever they may and shall be by force of these presents
part of the body corporate and politic of the said
Wardens & Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of
the City of London, and may and shall be for ever

THE GROCERY TRADE

hereafter annexed to the body corporate and politic of the said Wardens & Commonalty, etc. and that the Wardens & Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and all and all manner of person and persons now exercising, etc. the mystery or art of grocery, or the separate mysteries or arts of a confectioner, druggist, tobacco-nist, tobacco-cutter, and sugar-refiner, of and in the city aforesaid, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, etc. from henceforth for ever, may and shall be by force of these presents one body, corporate and politic, in/deed, fact, and name, by the name of Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and them by the same name one body corporate and politic, in/deed, fact, and name, really and fully for us, our heirs & successors, we have erected, made, ordained, constituted, and confirmed by these presents, and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and shall and may be able to plead & be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, as well in all courts and places, as in all actions, pleas, causes & matters whatsoever. And further, of our special grace, etc. we have given & granted, & by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid Wardens & Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, that all and singular person and persons now exercising or using, or who hereafter shall exercise or use the Mystery of grocers, or the arts or mysteries of a confectioner, druggist, tobacco-nist, tobacco-cutter, and sugar-refiner, or any of them, within our city of London, the suburbs, precincts, or liberties of the same, or within three miles, etc. (who at present are not free or freemen of any

APPENDIX II

other society or mystery within the City aforesaid) that they from henceforth shall and may be able to be made freemen of the same society or mystery of Grocers of the City of London. And further, of the abundance of our special grace, etc. we will, and by the presents for us and our successors, have granted unto the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, and their successors, That they and their successors for ever may have, hold, and enjoy, and shall and may be able to have, hold, and enjoy, all, so many, such, the like, and the same liberties, franchises, powers, jurisdictions, and franchises, as the Wardens & Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers, etc. at any time before the 26th day of March, now last past, had, held, exercised, or enjoyed, or ought to have had, held, exercised, or enjoyed, by reason or pretext of any charters, letters patent, or grants of our predecessors, or any or either of them, or by any other legal means, right, or title, non-mention or recital of any charters, letters patent, gifts, or grants, to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Grocers of the City of London, by any or either of our predecessors, before this time given or granted, or any other omission, thing, cause or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. In witness whereof, etc. Witness the King and Queen at Westminster, July the 7th.

By Writ of Privy Seal, etc.

APPENDIX III

PEPPERERS, GROCERS AND TEA-DEALERS WHO HAVE HELD THE OFFICE OF LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

Year of office

1231	}	Andrew Bokerel.
1232		
1233		
1234		
1235		
1236		
1237	}	John Gisors.
1245		
1246		
1250		
1259	}	Alan de la Zouch. Sir Henry Frowike.
1267		
1272		
1311	}	Sir John Gisors.
1312		
1313		
1319	}	Hammond Chikwell.
1321		
1322		
1324		
1325		
1327		

APPENDIX III

Year of office

1329	Sir John de Grantham.
1339	} Sir Andrew Aubrey.
1340	
1351	
1360	Simon Dolsely.
1363	John Notte.
1375	John Warde.
1377	Sir Nicholas Brember.
1378	Sir John Philpot.
1383	} Sir Nicholas Brember.
1384	
1385	
1379	Sir John Hadley.
1389	Sir William Vinor.
1392	Sir William Standon.
1393	Sir John Hadley.
1399	Sir Thos. Knolles.
1407	Sir William Standon.
1410	Sir Thomas Knolles.
1411	} Sir Robert Chichley.
1421	
1418	Sir William Sevenoke.
1420	William Cambridge.
1431	Sir John de Welles.
1434	Sir Roger Oteley.
1438	Sir Stephen Browne.
1443	Thomas Catworth.
1448	Sir Stephen Browne.
1450	Nicholas Wyfold.
1455	Sir William Marowe.
1456	Sir Thomas Cannyng.
1460	Sir Richard Lee.
1466	Sir John Young.

THE GROCERY TRADE

Year of office

1468	Sir William Taylor.
1471	Sir John Edwards.
1484	{ Sir Thomas Hill. John Warde.
1504	
1510	Sir John Wyngar.
1515	Sir Henry Keble.
1516	Sir William Butler.
1531	Sir John Reft.
1544	Sir Nicholas Lambert.
1554	Sir William Laxton.
1562	Sir John Lyon.
1563	Sir Thomas Lodge.
1573	Sir John White.
1577	Sir John Rivers.
1590	Sir Thomas Ramsay.
1608	Sir John Hart.
1613	Sir Humphrey Weld.
1617	Sir Thomas Middleton.
1641	Sir George Bolles.
1648	Sir Edmund Wright.
1650	Sir John Warner.
1652	Sir Thomas Foote.
1660	John Kendrick.
1673	Sir Thomas Alleyne.
1674	Sir Robert Hanson.
1679	Sir William Hooker.
1682	Sir James Edwards.
1684	Sir John Moore.
1696	Sir Henry Tulse.
1710	Sir John Houblon.
1729	Sir Samuel Garrard.
1730	Sir John Bayliss.
	Sir Richard Brocas,

APPENDIX III

Year of office

1731	Humphrey Parsons.
1748	Sir John Ladbroke.
1753	Sir Thomas Rawlinson.
1757	Marsh Dickenson.
1761	Sir Matthew Blackiston.
1765	Sir William Stephenson.
1766	George Nelson.
*1773	Frederick Bull.
1792	Sir John Hopkins.
1801	Sir John Eamer.
1871	Sir Sills J. Gibbons.
1886	Sir Reginald Hanson, Bart.
1898	Sir John Voce Moore.

* A leading Nonconformist M.P. for London; a tea-dealer in Leadenhall Street, &c., strong partisan of John Wilkes, Alderman of Queenhithe.

APPENDIX IV

THE WILL OF LAURENCE SHERIFFE, THE GROCER FOUNDER OF RUGBY SCHOOL

1. THE WILL OF LAURENCE SHERIFFE

(From the Official Copy at Somerset House, Sloane, fol. 27)

“ In the name of God Amen The tow and twentie
Daie of Julie Anno Dni one thousand ffyve hundred
Three score and Seaven I LAURENCE SHIRIFF
Citizen and grocer of London beinge sicke of Bodie but
of good and perfitt remembrance thanked bee god there-
fore do make and ordeyne this my last Will and Testa-
ment in manner and forme following That is to saye
fyrst and principally I commende my soule into the
handes of Jhesus Christe my onlie saviour and Redemer
by the merytes of whose bytter deathe and precious
blud sheddinge I have sure hope and stedfastlie beleve
to be savid and my bodye to the yerthe wherof itt was
fyrst formed the whiche I will shalbe decently buried
within the parishe church of St. Androwes in Rugbie
but the funeralls to bee fyrst done in the Citie of London
whereat I will have a lerned man to preach the word
of god and all other thinges mete to be donne and after
that my body to be caried decently to Rugby and ther
buried nere the bodies of my father and mother and
that therbe after a fayre stone layed vppon my grave

APPENDIX IV

with a title theron declaringe the daie of my decease and so forth as my Executors and Overseers shall thinke good Item I give and bequethe to the parishe church of St. Androwes in the said Toune of Rugby in the Countie of Warwicke the sume of fyve poundes to be bestowed ther in and vppon the makinge of certaine newe pewes or setes in the said Church and that vppon the Doeres or Endes of the same Pewes or seates the grocers armes of London shalbe carvid with alsoe the letters of L and S adioyninge therevnto Item I will that the Daie of my buriall in Rugby aforesaid there be geven and Dytributed to the poore peopell that shall repayre thether the Sume of tenne poundes that is to saie to everye poore man and woman fflowre pence and to Everie poore Child tow pence Item I will that after all my debtes bee payed and the chardge of my funeralls borne that Elizabeth my wel beloved Wyfe shall have for her resonabell parte accordinge to the custome of the Citie of London one halfe of the Residewe of all and singuler my goodes and Chattelles Whatsoever Item I gyve and beqvethe to be bestowed as hereafter insuethe in the said Toune and parish of Rugby aforesaid the Summ of ffyve poundes whereof I will that three poundes bee ymployed vppon the reparacions of the markett crosse there and that ther be a vaine sett vppon the toppe therof wherin shalbe the armes of the grocers of London and the said letteres of L S and the other fortie shillinges I will shalbe bestowed in the amendinge of Over bridge and Rugbye bridge to either of them twentie shillinges all which said severall Somes and Legacies I will shalbe paid unto my brother in Lawe John Howkins and to tow other honeste men of good consciences inhabitinge within the said towne of Rugbye to be imployed and bestowed as is before

THE GROCERY TRADE

expressed presentlie vppon the recepte of the said money or within two monethes after at the furthest Item I gyve and bequethe to Agnes Mabbe my Syster late the wyfe of John Mabbe of Leicester widowe the Some of iij^{li} vj^s viij^d and to her tow sonnes my Cosenes to eyther of them fortie shillinges to make eche of them a Rynge whervppon there shalbe sett a picture of Deathe in a windinge sheet to be delivered them witheyn one monethe after my decease Item I gyve vnto Alice Howkins now my servante and daughter of Brigitt Howkins my syster twentie poundes and to Barbara Howkins now my Servant Also and daughter of the said Brigitt Howkins my syster of Rugbie aforesaid tenne Poundes to be payd to them at their severall dayes of their marriages or within one monethe after att the furthest Item I gyve unto Helen and Sara Howkins the tow other daughters of my said syster Howkins to eyther of them three poundes vj^s viij^d to bee payed to them within one monethe next after my decease Item I gyve and bequethe towards the reliefe of the poore in Christes Hospitall in the Citie of London the Summ of Syxe poundes xij^s iiij^d to be payed to them within one monethe att the furthest next after my decease Item I gyve and bequethe towards the relief of the poore in the Hospitall of St Thomas Southeworke and St Bartholomewes in Smythefelde to eyther of them three pounds vj^s viij^d to be lykewise paid vnto them within one monethe after my decease att the furthest Item I give to the Maister Wardens and Companye of the grocers of London the Sume of Thirteen pounds syxe shillinges viij^d of whiche Some I will that syxe poundes xij^s iiij^d be bestowed vppon a recreation to the Company vppon the day of my buriall and that the other syxe poundes xij^s iiij^d may be imployed vppon

APPENDIX IV

decent hanginges or else Pewter Vessells ffor the vse of the Howse wherevppon I will that my marke shalbe sett or graven Item I gyve and Bequethe vnto the two Children of Margaret Hallam of Leicester the Wyfe of

Hallam to either of them tenne shillinges Item I gyve and bequethe to Elizabethe Honnylove my Servaunte fortie shillinges Item I gyve and bequethe to Will^m Stevenson my prentise fortie shillinges and a blacke gowne and to Raffe Gytzens my prentise a blacke gowne and to Mary my maide fortie shillinges and a blacke gowne and to Roger Deale my Servant a blacke gowne and fortie shillinges to amende his wages witheall Item wheras I the said Laurence Shiriffe stand bounde to paye to the vse of Gabriell Argall sonne of Master Thomas Argall the Sume of lawfull

money of England my will is that the said Somme of be well and trulie payed accordinge to the forme and Effecte of the said bounde And further I will gyve and bequethe to the said Gabriell the Some of twentie poundes of Lawfull Englishe moneye to be payed to him withe in the space of next

after my decease Item I will that withe in convenyent tyme after my decease there shalbe paid and delyvered unto George Harrison of London Gentelman and Barnard ffeilde of London grocer my deare frendes fiftie poundes towards the buildinge of a schole house and Almes howse in Rugby aforesaid accordinge to the tenor of a certaine writinge bearinge date the day of the date hereof conteyninge myne intente in that behalfe And Wheras I the said Laurence Shiriffe by Indenture bearinge date the daye of the date hereof have bargayned and sold to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeild all and singuler my landes tenements and hereditaments in the Countie of Warwicke vppon suche truste and to

THE GROCERY TRADE

suche good purposes as by the wrightinge aforesaid conteyninge myne intent towching the Schole house and Almeshouse aforesaid doth appere Now for as muche as I do thinke that the said Landes Tenements and Hereditaments so bargained and sould will not be sufficient to the purposes aforesaid I will give and bequeth to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde the somes of one hundrethe poundes of Lawfull Englishe money to purchase therewith some other Landes as shall at the least be of the clere yerelie value of fortie fyve Shillinges of Lawful Englishe money the same landes so to be purchased to be vsed conveyed and assured to the purposes and intentes expressed in the said writinge conteynenge myne intende aforesaid Provided alwayes that yf the said Elizabeth my wyfe do within convenyente tyme after my decease release to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde and their heires or to the survivor of them and his heires all her dowrie and title of Dower of an in the premises so as is afforesaid bargained and sold and alsoe doe convey and assure or cause to be conveyed and assured to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde and their heires for ever to thentent aforesaid Lands Tenements and hereditaments of the said clere yerely value of fortie fyve shillinges that then the said Legacie of one hundrethe pounds shalbe utterly voyed and of none effecte Anye thinge herein conteyned to the contrayry therof in any wyse notwithstandinge Item I gyve and bequethe to the said Elizabeth my wyfe my graye ambling nagge my cheyne of gould weying xx^{ti} ounces and my goulde Ringe withe the picture of Deathe vppon it the whiche I hade at the deathe of my Lovinge ffrend Master Argall And furthermore I do ordeyne and make the said Elizabeth my wyffe the sole Executrix of this my last will and

APPENDIX IV

testament and doo make my Brother in Lawe John Howkins one of the Overseers of the same and gyvinge to my said Brother for his paynes to be takin herin the Somme of flortie poundes ffor the whiche he shall not onlie helpe and ayde my said wyfe as muche as in him lyethe but also the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde specially concerninge the Buildinge of the Schole and other thinges by them to be donne at Rugby Alsoe I doo ordeyne and make my said loving ffriend Barnard ffeld of London grocer to be the other Overseere of this my last will and Testament desiringe him and my said ffrende Maister George Harrison that they will doo as muche as in them dothe lye to se all the Contentes comprised in the writynge before specified concerninge the schole and other thinges at Rugby afforesaid to be performed accordinge to my will and desire even as I have nowe and alwayes have had my speciall trust in them The residewe of all and singuler my debtes goodes and Chatteles not otherwyse by this my last will gyven nor bequethed I whollie gyve and bequethe to the said Elizabethe my wyffe in Concideracion that she shall release all her dower and title of dower as is afforesaid This is the last will and Testament of me Laurence Shiriffe Citizen and grocer of London towching and Concerning all mesuages Landes Tenements and hereditaments wherof I shall be seised of anye Estate of inheritance at the time of my decease in possession revercion or remaynder ffyrst Whereas I have barganed and solde to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde all and singuler my Mesuages Landes tenements and hereditaments in the said Countie of Warwicke I doo by this my last will and Testament will gyve and bequethe the same to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffelde and ther heires for ever to the vse of

THE GROCERY TRADE

them and ther heirs vppon such trust notwithstanding as in the saide writinge is declared Item I will that the said Elizabethe my wyffe shall have for terme of her naturall lyffe all and singuler other my Landes Tenements and hereditaments beinge ffireholde sett and beinge in the Countie of Middlesex or ells where within the Realme of England and after her decease I will and bequethe one full third part thereof the whole beinge devided into thre partes vnto the said Brigett Howkins my syster for terme of her lyffe and after her decease I will the said third parte remayne to the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Ales Daughteres of the said Brigett Howkins and to the heires of ther bodies Lawfully Begotten and yf it fortune all and every of the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alles to dye without yssue of there and every of ther Bodies Lawfully begotten Then I will the said third parte be and remayne to the ryght heires of the said Brigett Howkins for ever Item I will and bequethe to Anthonye Howkins Son of the said Brigett and to the heires of his Bodie Lawfully begotten one other third parte of the said Landes Tenementes and hereditamentes and ffor defalte of suche issue I will the said third parte to remayne to Thomas Howkins brother of the said Anthony Howkins and to the heires of his bodie Lawfullie begotten And for default of suche yssue I will the said third parte to remayne to the said Ellyn Sara Barbara and Ales his Sisters and to the heires of their bodyes lawfully begotten and yf it fortune all and everie the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alice to dye without yssue of ther and everie of ther bodies Lawfully begotten Then I will the remaynder therof to the right heires of the said Brigett Howkins ffor ever Item I will gyve and bequethe to the said Thomas Howkins and to the heires

364

APPENDIX IV

of his bodie Lawfulye begotten the other third parte of the said Landes tenements and hereditamentes And for defalte of such issue I will the same third parte to be and remayne to the said Anthonye and to the heires of his bodie Lawfully begotten And for defalte of such yssue I will the same third parte remayne to the said Ellyn Sara Barbara and Ales his systers and to the heires of ther bodies Lawfully begotten And yf it fortune all and every the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alice to dye without yssue of ther and every of ther bodyes Lawfully begotten Then I will the remaynder therof to the ryght heires of the said Brigett Howkins ffor ever In witness wherof I the said Lawrence Shiriffe have hervnto sett my hand and Seale The daye and yere ffirst above written in the presence of those whose names be vnder written Laurence Shiriffe Grocer (per me) Georgium Harrison (per me) Anthony Gregory (per me) William Hewes (per me) Barnard ffylde (per me) Robert Payne.”

“ This Codicyll or writinge, dated in Rugby in the Countie of Warwicke the last daye of August Anno a Thousand fyve hundreth threscore and Seaven with all thinges therin conteyned is to be added unto the last will and Testament of me Laurence Shiriffe Citizen and grocer of London wherebye also I doo revoke divers Legacies conteyned in the said last will dated at London the xxij Day of Julye in the said yere as followeth ffyrst whereas in the said last will and testament I the said Laurence did gyve and bequethe to George Harrison of London gentelman and vnto Barnard ffelde Grocer of London the some of one hundrethe poundes to suche intent as by the same Will is declared And also did give and bequethe vnto my Syster Brigett Howkins of Rugby after the decease of Elizabethe my wyffe one

THE GROCERY TRADE

whole thirde parte of all those my frehold landes and tenementes in the Countie of Myddlesex to her for terme of her lyffe onlie and after to her iiij Daughters Ellen Sara Barbara and Ales as by the said will more at large dothe appere the said severall Legacies of the said hundred poundes and the said one whole third parte of the said landes I do by thes presentes utterlie revoke and make frustrate and by thes presentes I do will gyve and bequethe all the said one whole third parte of the said landes and tenements vnto the said George and Barnard to the vse of the said George and Barnard and to their heires Executores and Assignes for ever vppon suche trust and confidence and to the intente as I have donne my parsonage of Brounes over and my house in Rugbye aforesaid and not other wyse in any wyse Item I gyve and bequethe vnto the said Brigett my Syster a blacke goun and iij^{li} vj^s viij^d in money Item wheras alsoe I have in the former parte of my said Will gyven and bequethed to John Howkins of Rugbie the some of fortie poundes I do revoke therof xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d and so his Legacie to be but xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d and a blacke cote Item I gyve to the said George Harrison and to his wyfe to eyther of them a ringe of fyne gould and to mystress Gregori the wyffe of Anthony Gregori one ringe of fyne gould Laurence Shireffe grocer By me Barnard ffeild By me John Hawkins By me Anthony Howkins By me Ralph Gytens

(" Proved at London 23rd Octr. 1567 before Walter Haddon Doctor of Laws by the Oaths of George Harrison and Elizabeth Laurence the wife the Ex'ors.")

Copy signed by Simon Rolleston, Registrar.
(Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

APPENDIX IV

THE INTENTE OF LAURENCE SHERRIFFE

(From an ancient copy on vellum among the Trust Papers.

*Parts in brackets have been restored from a paper
copy, No. 2a)*

“ To all Christian people to whom this present writinge shall Come to bee seene hard or read Lawrence Sherriffe Citizen and Grocer of London George Harrison of London Gent. and Bernard ffeild Citizen and Grocer of London send Greeteinge in Our Lord God Everlastinge Whereas the said Lawrence Sherriffe by Indenture beareinge date the day of the date hereof for the Consideracion therein mencioned Hath Bargained and Solde to the saide George and Bernard and their Heires for ever All that his parsonage of Brownesover in the County of Warwicke with all the rightes members and appurtenances of the same and all and singuler other the Messuages Landes Tenements and hereditaments of the said Lawrence sett lyinge or beinge in Rugby in the said County of Warwick and in Brownesover aforesaid or in either of them or elsewhere in the said Countye of Warwick as by the saide Indenture more playnlye and att large it doth and may appeare The Confidence Trust and Intent of the said Lawrence Sherriffe Nevertheless is and att the makeinge of the said Indenture was that the saide George and Bernard and their heires should have vse and ymploy Convey and assure the same to such vses and in such man[ner] and forme as is hereafter declared and to none other vse intent and purpose That is to say the said George and Bernard or the survivor of them or their heires or assignes should with Convenient speede after the decease of the said Lawrence with the profittes of the premises and with such other sommes of Money

THE GROCERY TRADE

as the said Lawrence should therefore giue or appoynt by his Last will and Testament Cause to bee Builded neare to the Messuage or Mansyon howse of the said Lawrence in Rugby aforesaide a fayre and Conuenient Schoole-howse in such sort as to theire discretions shalbee thought meete and Conuenient And should alsoe provide or build neare to the said Schoolehowse foure meete and distinct lodgeings for foure poore men to bee and abyde in accordinge to their good discretions And should alsoe well and sufficiently repayre the saide Messuage or Mansyon Howse which thinges being effectually done The will and the intent of the said Lawrence was and is that the said George and Barnard or theire heires or assignes or some of them should Cause an honest discretee and Learned man beinge a Master of Artes to bee Reteyned to teach a free Grammar Schoolf in the said Schoolhouse And further that after that for ever there should bee a free Grammar Schoole kept within the said Schoole house to serve Chiefly for the Children of Rugby and Brownesover aforesaid and next for such as bee of other places therevnto adjoyneing And that for ever an honest discretee Learned man shoule be Chosen and appointed to teach Grammar freely in the same Schoole and the same man (yf it may conveniently bee) to bee euer a M^r. of Artes AND FURTHER THE WILL AND INTENT OF THE SAID LAWRENCE WAS AND IS OF THE SAME SCHOOLE SHALBEE FOR EVER CALLED THE FFREE SCHOOLE OF LAURENCE SHERRIFFE OF LONDON GROCER And that the Schoolemaster thereof for the tyme beinge for ever shalbee termed or Called the Schoolemaster of Lawrence Sherriffe of London Grocer And that the Schoolemaster and his successors for euer shal haue the said Mansyon howse with thappur-

368

APPENDIX IV

tenances to dwell in without any thinge to be paide therefore And further that the Schoolmaster of the said Schoole for euer should haue yearly for his Sallary or wages the Some of Twelve poundes and over this the will and Intent of the said Lawrence was and is that for ever in the said foure Lodgeinges foure poore men should freely haue their lodgeinges and should alsoe each of them haue towards their Releife Seaven [pence] by the week to bee weekly paid at Rugby aforesaid And that of the said foure poore men [two] should euer bee such as had bene Inhabitanes of Rugby aforesaid and [none other] and the other Twoe such as had been Inhabitanes of Brownesouer aforesaid and none others And alsoe that the said foure poore men should bee for ever called the Almesmen of Lawrence Sherriffe of London Grocer And further the will and intent of the said Laurence was and is that the Mansyon Howse Schoolehouse and other Lodgeinges should be sufficiently Repayred and mayntayned for euer All which the premisses the saide Lawrence Sherriffe willed and Intended to bee borne paide and performed of the Rentes and profittes of the premisses soe as is aforesaid bargayned and solde And over this his will and desire was and ys that John Howkins of Rugby aforesaid and Bridgett his wife Sister of the said Laurence during their lives should bee the ffarmers of the said Parsonage and other the premisses in Brounesover aforesaid for the yearly Rent of Sixteene poundes Thirteene shillings foure pence to bee by them therefore paide soe that the saide John and Bridgett doe well and substantially dureing their lives repayre the Buildinges thereof and well and truely pay the saide Rent and that after their decease before any other some such person as shalbee of the body of the said John Howkins and

THE GROCERY TRADE

Bridgett his wife lawfully begotten or Issuinge and shall Inhabitt in Rugby or Brownsouer aforesaid should bee ffarmer of the saide Personage for the said yearly Rent of Sixteene poundes Thirteene shillings and fourepence yf such bee that will truely pay the saide Rent without delay and well and sufficiently repayre the Buildings of the premisses in Brownesouer aforesaid And whereas the said Lawrence Sherriffe Intendeth by Gods Grace in his life tyme to erect and Build the Buildinge and Schoole-house aforesaid and to make or procure some good and substantiall devyse whereby his good Intent aforesaid may haue Contynuaunce for euer And the said Schoole there to be established to Contynue for euer Yf it please God to graunt him life to performe the same yet nevertheless the desyre confydence and Trust of the said Laurence Sheriffe is that in default thereof the said George Harri[son] and Barnard ffeild will of the Rentes Revenues and somes of money afo[re]said in all respectes substantially truly and effectually accomplish the sa[me] in such wayes as by the lawes of this Realme may most assuredly bee devysed and Convey and assure the Landes tenements Hereditaments and oth[er] the premisses to that only Intent and purpose In Witness whereof the s[aid] Lawrence Sherriffe George Harrison and Bernard ffeild haue therevnto sett their seales the xxijth day of July in the xth Yeare of the Raigne of our most excellent Sovereign Ladye Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1567.

“ The true Coppye of the Intent of Lawrence Sherriffe concerninge the Parsonage of Brownesouer which Intent was Sealed Subscribed and delivered by Lawrence Sherriffe George Harrison and Barnard ffeild as by the same Intent appeareth Coppyed the 20th of December 1580 E. Harrison.”

APPENDIX V

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PAGEANT IN HONOUR OF A GROCER LORD MAYOR

LONDON TRIUMPHANT :

OR THE CITY IN JOLLITY AND SPLENDOUR ; EXPRESSED
IN VARIOUS PAGEANTS AND SONGS,

Invented and performed for Congratulation and Delight
of the Well-deserving Governour,

SIR ROBERT HANSON, KNIGHT,
LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON,

At the Cost and Charges of the Worshipful Company
of Grocers.

His Majesty gracing the Triumphs with His Royal
presence.

Written by THO. JORDAN.

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THE GROCERY TRADE

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT HANSON,
KNIGHT, LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON

MY LORD,—Since your Lordship was pleased to confer the Honour of this Employment upon the meanest of your Servants, I find myself obliged (in gratitude) to tender you the first Fruits of my Service, and since I am so safely invested with your favours, I am encouraged to defie all detraction, nor need I fear the malice of any carping Critick, since he that carrieth the Sword of Justice hath taken me into his protection, and guardeth my Integrity with his Authority, which shall rather increase my Humility than advance my Ambition, and give me cause ever to acknowledge that I am,

Your Lordships sincere and Humble Servant.

THO. JORDAN.

TO THE WORTHY SOCIETY AND WORSHIPFUL COMPANY
OF GROCERS

GENTLEMEN,—I hope I have (without manifest imperfections) performed your commands ; in designing the scenes, composing pertinent Speeches and seasonable songs for your service in this days Triumphs ; if the nicety of some mens enquiry discover anything that is irregular or superfluous I hope you will justly impute it to the brevity of my time, my person being employed in sundry places, as well as my pen upon several subjects : If the accomplishment of all conduce to your content, he hath obtained the most worthy part of his End, who is,

Gentlemen,

Your heartily humble Servant,

THO. JORDAN.

APPENDIX V

THE AGITATIONS OF THE MORNING

The Noble Citizens appointed for the Transactions of the Day (according to annual custom and order) assemble about Seven of the Clock in the Morning at Grocers-Hall.

1. The Master, Wardens, and assistants, in Gowns faced with Foyns, and their Hoods.

2. The Livery, in their Gowns faced with Budge, and their Hoods.

3. The Batchelors, part thereof, in Gowns faced with foyns, with their gowns and hoods.

4. Budge Batchelors, in gowns and Scarlet hoods.

5. Fifty Gentlemen-Ushers, in Velvet Coats, each of them a chain of Gold about his Shoulder and a white Staff in his hand.

6. Twelve other gentlemen, for bearing Banners and Colours, some in plush coats, and some in buff; they also wearing Scarffs about their Shoulders of the Companies Colours.

7. Several Drums and Fifes, with red Scarffs and the Colours of the Company.

8. The two City Marshals, riding each of them on horseback, with six Servitors to attend them, with Scarffs and Colours of the Companies.

9. The Foot Marshal and six attendants, with like Scarffs and Colours.

10. The Master of Defence, with the same Scarff and Colours, having persons of his own Science to attend him.

11. Three score and six poor men, pensioners accommodated with Gowns and Caps, each of them employed in bearing of Standards and Banners.

THE GROCERY TRADE

12. Divers other Pensioners in red Gowns, white Sleeves, and flat Caps, each of them carrying a Javelin in the one hand, and a Target in the other, wherein is painted the Coat Armour of their Benefactors.

Being in this Equipage and Order fitted, They are by the Foot Marshall divided into several Divisions, and ranked out by two and two, beginning with the Pensioners in Gowns, and in the front of them placeth the companies ensigns, four Drums, and one fife ; which is the lowest and most inferior division.

In the Rere of them, falls in four Drums and one Fife, after them the several Pensioners in Coats bearing several Banners and Standards ; after them, Four Trumpets, after them the Gryphon and Camel Ensignes, Six Gentlemen Ushers, after them the Budge Batchelors which conclude the next division.

In the Reer of those fall six Trumpets, after them two gentlemen bearing two Banners, the one of the Cities, the other of the Companies Arms ; after them follow eight Gentlemen-Ushers and then the Foyns Batchelors, which make up another Division.

After them two Gentlemen Ushers bearing two Banners, after them ten Gentlemen Ushers—habited as is set down before, and after them the Livery.

In the Reer of these fall others of the City of Trumpets, and after them two Gentlemen bearing the Banners of the City and the Lord Mayor and then the Gentlemen or Court of Affistants ; these conclude that Division.

In the Reer of them fall in four Drums and six Trumpets, after them three other Gentlemen bearing the Kings, the Queens, and Cities Banners, and after them fourteen Gentlemen Ushers ; to follow them are appointed four Pages, and after them the Master and Wardens, which conclude all the Divisions.

APPENDIX V

In this Equipage they march from Grocers Hall to Barber-Chirurgeons Hall beginning with the Pensioners until the Marshal comes and makes a halt at the Hall Gate, till such time as his Lordship and the Aldermen are mounted.

Which being done, the whole Body move towards Guild Hall; and at Guild Hall Gate, the new Lord Mayor joyneth with the old Lord Mayor and his attendants, so all of them march through Kings Street down to the Three Crane Wharf, and then the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and their Attendants and the West end of the said Wharf take their Barge, the Court of Assistants, the Livery, and the Gentlemen ushers of those three Divisions, at the East end of the said Wharf, whilst the residue of the retinue that remain behind, viz. some Gentlemen Ushers, the Budge Batchelors, and Foyns Batchelors repair to places of refection.

The Lord Mayors, the Grocers, and the several Companies Barges, hasten for Westminster, and near the Temple his Lordship is accosted with a pleasure Boat, properly accommodated and Beautified with divers Flags, and Streamers, who saluteth his Lordship with several great pieces; which being past, his Lordship, the Aldermen, the Company of Grocers, and other Companies landing at Westminster, have a Lane made them through which they pass to the Hall, and there having performed several ceremonial Duties and Obligations, as an Oath to be true and faithful to his Majesty and Government established, Sealing of Writs in the Courts there held; and having taken leave of the Lords and Barons of the Exchequer, &c. and doing some charitable offices to the poor of that place, return to their Barges, a Lane being made as before for their passage to the water side, and there imbarge.

THE GROCERY TRADE

His Lordship, with those attending him, (the companies) land at Pauls Wharf, and other places, in order to their stands in Cheapside, where he and they are saluted with three volleys by (the Military glory of this Nation) the Company of Artillery-men, under the conduct of the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Player, they being in all accomplishments of gallantry some in Buff, with Head pieces, many of massy Silver; (of whose honourable Society, his Lordship hath been a Member, 37 Years), from Pauls Wharf they march before my Lord through a Gallery of the aforesaid Batchelors and Gentlemen Ushers, who went not to Westminster and likewise the pensioners and banners being set in order ready to march, the Foot Marshal leads the way, and in the reer of the Artillery up Pauls-Wharf Hill to the South Church Yard of St. Pauls, where his Lordship is entertained by the first Scene or Pageant.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FIRST PAGEANT

Which is upon this Stage: In the front is erected the Crest of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, being a Camel artfully Carved, and properly painted, which is neer as big as the life, and sheweth very magnificently; on whose back a Negro Boy is mounted betwixt two Baskets, which contain several sorts of Fruits, as Raisons, Almonds, Dates, Figs, Prunes, and other variety of Grocery Wares; which when the following speech is spoken, he scattereth with a plentiful hand amongst the people, who scramble as much for them as if they were a cost of so much silver; this Negro Boy holds in one hand a Banner of the Kings Arms, his Bridle is of Red and White Ribon, (being the Com-

376

APPENDIX V

panies Colours,) on his head he wears a Garland or rather Wreath of feathers, at each side of him stands a Goddess the one representing Plenty in a watchet tinsel Robe and a Horn or Cornucopia, out of the great end issuing branches of Fruits and Flowers; on her head a garland of Roses upon a tire of long bright brown hair, and a banner in her hand; on the other hand standeth a young Virgin representing Concord, in a Sky coloured Robe, and a yellow mantle with the like garland of roses on her head, a silver wand in one hand and a banner in the other: And in the reer of this Camel, highly exalted on a Silver Throne, and under a Canopy of Silver fringed, sitteth an Imperial person alone, in Royal habit, his Face black, and likewise his Neck and Arms, which are naked to the elbows; on his head, a Crown of various coloured feathers, a rope of pearl about his neck, pendants in his ears, short curl'd wool like Hair, a coat of several painted Feathers; a Silver Mantle cross him, from the right shoulder to the left side, in his right hand he holdeth a Sceptre of Silver with a bright Golden Sun on the top of it, Carnation Silk Stockings, and on them silver Buskins laced before, and furlled with Gold Ribon; and on a descent gradually next under him sitteth two Negroes, attired properly in diverse coloured silks, with Silver or Gold Wreaths of Cornets upon their heads, as Princes of West-India adorned with neck-laces, pendants, and bracelets of jewels and pearls, and javelins in their hands: and on the next seat of descent under them, sit three other Black-Moors, in antick attire, their habits all consisting of diverse delightful colour'd Silks and Gaudy Feathers, bearing the Kings, the Cities, my Lords, and the Companies small Banners; The Emperor rising up in his Throne

THE GROCERY TRADE

and addressing to his Lordship, makes this following application in these words :

THE FIRST SPEECH, SPOKEN BY THE INDIAN EMPEROUR

To fill your Triumphs, and compleat this show,
The Princes of Peru and Mexico
With our Imperial Train appear in State,
Your Royal Revellings to celebrate :
Especially to be receiv'd a Guest
By those that bear this Camel as their Crest ;
Because, it is reported (as Fame faith,)
That England's great Defender of the Faith,
Head of four Thrones, doth not disdain to be
A Member of the Grocers Companie.
If their indulgent Sovereign be so good
As to confociate in Brotherhood,
And be concorporated, well may I
(That furnish them with Fruits and Spicery)
Give them a visit, and congratulate
Their noble natur'd, new made Magistrate ;
For I have heard he is a person free
And liberal in Hospitalitie :
His Wine-Cellar and Tables are replete
Not with long graces and with little meat,
But bless'd with plenty, and good welcome, too.
Then I address myself (my Lord) to you,
To whom the City wisely hath preferr'd
The feat of Mayoralty ; they have not err'd,
But very orderly they've made their choyce
By Legal limitations, Vote and Voyce :
And may you prosper in your place, and be
The perfect Mirrour of true Equitie.

Justice supports the World, for without that

APPENDIX V

No man hath title to his own Estate ;
Which mix'd with Mercy, gives mankind new birth,
And may be fitly styl'd Heaven upon Earth,
Which there's no question, but you will dispense,
To punish Guilt, and cherish Innocence ;
And with your Eagles eyes to search out those
That are your God's, your King's, and Country's foes ;
Such as by lurking, only to grow higher
By Civil Wars, or Cities set on Fire,
Which they'll pretend to quench : But (in a word)
You bear the Sword of Government (my Lord)
In such a peevish age, that (I may say)
Many are studious how to disobey,
And yet speak well, but if they act not so,
We are better Moralists in Mexico.

But I am well assur'd my Lord, you'l do
What Love and Equity shall prompt you to,
And future Ages shall your praises sing
With a choice Pen pluckt from an Eagles Wing.

The speech ended, the Scene quits the Station, and is convey'd through Cheapside ; his Lordship continueth his course through Cheapside also, and just against Bow Church he is intercepted, and provoked (willingly) to be saluted by other three Pageants of Scenes ; which is described in this manner.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE PAGEANTS

On the first two Stages (which flank each other), stand two large Gryphons, (which are supporters to the Arms of the Grocers Company,) on whose backs are two Negroes mounted, in Indian habits, according to the mode and fashion of the Countrey, bearing in their hands each of them a large Banner, containing the one

THE GROCERY TRADE

the Cities, the other the Grocers Arms, at each corner in front sitteth or standeth two white Virgins, the one personating Victory, clad in a Robe of Yellow, in one hand a helmet, in the other a Pomegranate: by the helmet is meant force and strength of body, by the Pomegranate, unity of wit and counsel, standing upon a Base; in one hand a Palm, in the other a crown of Gold.

The other representeth gladness, in a Green Robe and a Mantle of divers colours, embroidered with flowers, a Garland of Myrtles; in her right hand a Crystal Cruise, in her left a Golden Cup.

In the rere of the Gryphons, and adjoining to them, is a Stage on which, is erected a Golden Throne, set with Emeralds, Saphyrs, Rubies, Amethysts, Diamonds, and Carbuncles, supremely elevated and gradually ascending, with a fringed Canopy and side Curtains tyed up, of Gold; on which, in Majestick Glory sitteth a young handsom person representing Apollo, on his head a peruke of long, curl'd, bright flaxen hair, a wreath of green Laurel about his head, and springing from it above, his forehead is the figure of the Sun richly gilded; a close bodied coat, or vest, of gold, a loose Robe or Tunick of Purple, bearing a Silver Bow in his right hand, as he is the God of Archery: a Golden Harp in the other strung with Silver, as he is the God of Musick.

1. On his right and left hand in semicircular fashion, are, first, on his right hand sitteth Fame, a Lady clad in a thin light garment of sky-colour, a yellow mantle fringed with gold; in her right hand a Silver Trumpet, and a Banner.

2. Next to her sitteth a person representing Peace; a Lady all in White, semined with Stars, a carnation

APPENDIX V

mantle fringed with gold, a vail, of Silver ; and in her hand a palm or olive Branch.

3. A proper Lady personating Justice ; in a Yellow Robe and White Mantle, with a Coronet of Silver about her head, bearing a Shield in her right hand, charged with a pair of Scales Pendant and equal.

1. On his left hand sitteth Aurora, Goddess of the Morning ; being a lovely young Virgin in a Mantle of Saffron colour, Carnation Wings, long fair dishevel'd hair sprinkled with dew drops, a Silver Wreath about her head, and a Star, springing out of it above her forehead.

2. Next to her, sits Flora the Goddess of Flowers ; in a Robe of divers Colours, a Mantle all painted with Roses, Lillies, Violets, and Primroses, a Garland of various colour'd flowers on her head, holding a little Tree full of Blossoms in her right hand.

3. Next in order to her sitteth Ceres the Goddess of Corn ; with yellow hair, a straw colour'd Mantle trimm'd with Silver, wearing a wreath about her head, consisting of variety of grain, (viz. Wheat, Oats, Rye, Barley,) intermingled with yellow flowers, Blew-bottles, and erratick Poppies, and (in her right hand) a Silver Sickle.

THE SECOND SPEECH, SPOKEN BY APOLLO SITTING IN STATE

With Oriental Eye I come to see,
And congratulate this great Solemnitie,
With my refulgent presence
The comforts of light, heat and influence ;
To grace that Company above the rest,
Who traffick for those fruits my beams have blest ;
Whose stout Supporters with their wings and claws,

THE GROCERY TRADE

Defend them like the power of Paenal Laws ;
These and their Camel do, in breadth and length,
At once display their Treasure and their Strength ;
To whom (as Fame exhibits) it did please
Their High and Mighty Sovereign of the Seas
To be communicable. But I am gone
I fear, too far from my Intention,
Which is to give one that is good and great,
A hearty Welcome to his Justice Seat ;
It hath been often said, as often done
That all men will worship the Rising Sun,
Such are the blessings of his Beams, but now
The Rising Sun, my Lord, doth worship you.
The Sun of this Metropolis, whose Heat
And Light, lends lustre to the Sacred Seat
Of even-handed Justice, whose true Use is
To right the wronged, and suppress Abuses ;
For without Justice, All the world would be
A Den of Dragon-like Deformitie :
Usurping Guilt would on the weak prevail,
And injured Innocence rot in a Jail ;
Meum and Tuum then would be abhorr'd
And True Mens Rights decided by the Sword
Of impious Power, and the next heir must fight
A Battel for his Birth right ; but the sight
Of Justice ; in due season being shewn,
Doth equally allot each man his own,
Gainst a long Sword, an Infant may command
His Portion, with a Rattle in his hand.
Justice and Phoebus every way accord,
I'll shew't you in a Parallel my Lord :
Owls, Bats, Mice, Rats, hate light ; so rogues and
thieves
Hate Justice-Hall, the Lord Mayor and the Shrieves.

APPENDIX V

Justice makes good men rise, and bad men sink,
So Sol makes Gardens sweet, and Dunghills stink;
The Sun in every place doth cast his Eye ;
So Justice into a Guilty Soul can pry :
Phoebus gives lustre, beauty, strength, growth, health :
So Justice shines upon a Common-wealth.
I could enlarge, but that I fear my tongue,
May at this instant do your patience wrong ;
Therefore my Sun shall set, no more I'll say ;
You're the Sun now, this is my Lord Mayor's Day.

His Lordship moving further, shewing evident signs, that he was very well pleased with the representation and speech, meeteth another Scene of Drolls, near St. Laurence Lane End, which is a Stage very large, whereon is artificially planted a wilderness as it is thus described.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE WILDERNESS

The Wilderness or Desart, doth consist of divers trees, in several sorts of Green colours, some in blossom, others wealthily laden, with some green and some ripe and proper Fruits and Spices, as Dates, Pine Apples, Cloves, Nutmegs in their Cortex, Figs, Raisins, large Plumbs, Vines laden with great clusters of red and white Grapes, Sebestens, Tamarinds, inhabited with Tawny Moors, who are laborious in gathering, carrying, setting, sorting, sowing, and ordering the Fruits and other Physical Plants of their Country, several Baskets of which stand up and down here and there ready gathered ; there is of these labourers and gatherers five or six ; there are also three pipers, and several Kitchen Musicians, that play upon Tongs, Gridiron, Keys, and other such like confused musick ; whilst others are dancing

THE GROCERY TRADE

and shewing tricks ; on the Trees are divers Birds, natives of that Country, as the Parrot, Popinjays, having their Breasts and Bellies of Purple Colour, and their Wings of other changeable colours, Turtle-Doves, white Wild Ducks with purple Heads, and several Serpents (of which West India doth much abound) turning, winding, rigling, and crawling about the Bodies and the Branches ; and upon a grass green Mountain natively crowned with a steep rock in a Pyramidical Figure, and all about it diaper'd with sundry colour'd Flowers ; eminently exalted above the Tops of the Trees, standeth the Representation of America, figuratively personating that part of the World.

THE DESCRIPTION OF AMERICA

A proper Masculine Woman, with a Tawny Face, Raven-black long Hair curling up at the ends, on her Head a Crown Imperial ; her Breast naked and tawny, with several Necklaces of Pearl, Gold, and divers coloured Jewels, as blew, green, yellow, red, purple, and orange Colour ; her arms stripp'd up to her Elbows, on which hang variety of glittering Bracelets, a Vest of cloth of Silver, furl'd about her arms, with Gold, Silver and Scarlet Ribbon ; a short Petticoat or Bases of Silver, fringed with Gold, reaching no lower than the Knees, Aurora coloured Silk Stockings and a pair of Buskins of Silver, that are laced up to her Calf with golden Ribbons in puffs ; bearing the large Banner of the Lord Mayor's Family-Coat, and the Golden Eagle, which is the Crest of the Scriveners Company (which was his Function). She standing upright in a handsome posture, with an audible voice, delivereth this following narrative :

APPENDIX V

THE THIRD SPEECH, SPOKEN BY AMERICA

That I the better may attention draw,
Be pleased to know I am America,
The Western Quarter of the World, whose Climes
Were not discovered till these later times ;
Where first Columbus found me out, where I
Lay hid a long time in obscurity,
(Unknown to Christendom) I liv'd at ease,
Enrich'd with Gold, Tranquility, and Peace ;
But when by Fierce Invasions, they did know
The Treasures of Peru and Mexico,
(My two Great Empires) I became a Prey
To divers Nations who did rob and slay
My naked Natives, such as knew no Art,
In war-like weapons, but the Bow and Dart.
Then came the wingèd Ship, with thundring Gun,
Which dimm'd the Eyes of our Great God the Sun,
The only Deity we worship'd, and
Ransack'd my Riches, over-ran my Land,
Ruin'd my Princes, (my sad fate was such)
The haughty Spaniard and the cruel Dutch,
(Than with the Devil is not worse) did Build
Fortifications, rout me in the Field,
Brought over Priests, and Monks with Holy Hoods,
To teach Religion, whilst they stole my Goods :
Only the English Nation I did find
Amongst the rest more peaceable and kind,
Full of Humanity, who did persuade
Me to a generous and fair way of Trade ;
Faithful in Word and Deed, which makes me come
To this celestial part of Christendom,
And bear my share in the Triumphant Glory
Of Londons Magistrate, whose Fame and Story

THE GROCERY TRADE

Throughout the Western World I'll boldly sing,
A Faithful Subject to a Gracious King :
And may they both ever preserved be
From publick force or private Treachery,
That so the Grocers Traffick may prevail
So long as Ships on the curl'd Ocean Sail.
May you (my Lord) be prosp'rous in your year
By doing Justice, purchase Love and Fear.
May you be always Merciful and Just,
For what one will not do, the other must :
May no Rebellious Seeds-men sow Discord
Twixt White-Hall Scepter, and the Guild-Hall Sword :
May peace, truth, trade, with plenty and content,
Make all men Bless'd under your Government.

This Speech being ended, the Planters, the Gardners,
and Pipers, sing this ensuing Song, with a Chorus at
the end of every verse.

A SONG

This Wilderness is
A place full of Bliss
For caring and sparing
We know not what 'tis ;
By the sweat of our brows,
We do purchase our meat ;
What we pluck from the boughs,
We do lye down and eat.

Chorus

We labour all day, but we frolick at Night
With smoaking and joking, and tricks of delight.

APPENDIX V

II

The Merchant that Plows
On the Seas rugged Brows
Submits all his hits
To what Fortune allows :
If she do but frown
The trader is down ;

Till he comes to his Port he has nothing his own.

Chorus

We labour all day, yet we frolick at Night
With smoaking and joking, and tricks of delight.

III

Of Fruits that are ripe
We all freely can take ;
With Tongues and Bag-Pipe
Jolly Musick we make :

In our Pericraniums no mischief doth lurk ;
We are happier than they that do set us a work.

We never are losers
Whatever Wind drive ;
Then God bless the Grocers
And send them to thrive.

Chorus

We labour all day, yet we frolick at night,
With smoaking and joking, and tricks of Delight.

The Song being ended the Foot Marshal having placed the Assistants, Livery, and the Companies, on both sides of King Street, and their Pensioners, with their Targets hung on the Tops of their Javelins ; in

THE GROCERY TRADE

the reer of them the Ensigne-bearers ; Drums and Fifes in the Front, and hasten the Foyns and Budge-Batchelors ; together with the Gentlemen-Ushers to Guild-hall where his Lordship is again saluted by the Artillery-men with three Vollies more, which conclude their duty ; his land attendants pass through the Gallery or Lane so made, into Guild-Hall ; after which the Companies repair to the Hall to Dinner ; and the several Silk-Works, and Triumphs are likewise conveyed into Blackwell-Hall ; and the Officers aforesaid, and the Children that sit in the Pageants, there refresh themselves, until his Lordship hath dined at Guild-Hall ; where (to make the Feast more famous,) his Lordship is glorified with the splendor and presence of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other Bishops (at this time in London ;) all the resident Embassadours and Envoyes ; all the Lords of the Privy-Council ; all the Principal Officers of State and the Judges and Serjeants at Law, and their Ladies.

I must not omit to tell you, that (marching in the Van of the five Pageants) there are two exceeding Rarities, to be taken notice of ; that is, there are two extream great Giants, each of them of at least fifteen Foot high, that do sit and are drawn by horses in two several Chariots, moving, talking, and taking Tobacco as they ride along, to the great admiration and delight of all the Spectators. At the conclusion of the Show, they are to be set up in Guild-Hall, where they may be daily seen all the Year ; and I hope never to be demolished by such dismal violence as happened to their predecessors, which are raised at the peculiar and proper cost of the City. But I must return to
388

APPENDIX V

Guild Hall again, and wait upon my Lord, where his Lordship and the Guests are all seated, the City Musick begin to touch their Instruments with very artful fingers; and after a Lesson being Played, and their ears as well feasted as their mouths, a person with a good voice in good Humour, and audible utterance (the better to provoke digestion) Sings this new Droll, To the tune of—With a Fadding.

A SONG

I

Lets Drink and Droll and Dance and Sing,
And merily cry, Long live the King :
 'Tis Friendship and Peace
 Makes Trading increase ;
 Blind Fortune has plaid
 The changeable Jade ;
 We may curse her.

II

Let's sum up all that hath been done
From Forty two till Seventy-one,
 Then he that loves changes
 Let him go on :
But I'll venture my Fiddle and Forty to one
 'T will be worser.

III

When Ordinance Laws beat down the Kings
And Peters preach'd for Thimbles and Rings ;
 When all that we priz'd
 Were Sacrific'd ;

THE GROCERY TRADE

What did it produce
For general use,
But confusion.

IV

The Conjuring party raised then
Spirits they ne're could lay agen ;
But suffer'd disasters,
Their servants grew Masters ;
Who slighted their Votes,
And cudgell'd their Coats
In conclusion.

V

Thus did our Holy War succeed,
It made two hundred thousand bleed,
And fellows that neither
Could write nor read,
Did scatter in Pulpits
The Sanctifi'd Seed
Of Division.

VI

(CROMWELL)

The Captain of a Troop of Horse,
With Courage and Conduct, cunning and force,
The Crown, King and Kingdom did divorce ;
And put the Land into a Protectorly course,
By Excision.

VII

And after the great fatal blow,
What did become of all you know ;

APPENDIX V

The Right Royal Heir
Return'd to his Chair ;
By no means fallacious ;
But by a good gracious
Director.

VIII

Now let us survey this present Age
Where freedom enlargeth the bounds of the stage ;
Tis pleasanter far than Ruin and Rage,
That swagger'd and fray'd
When Oliver play'd
The Protector.

IX

Our Ensigns now are turn'd to Smocks,
And Ladies fight with their Fire Locks ;
Wine, Women and Sturgeon
Make work for the Surgeon,
The bonny Buff Jacket
Doth Tilt at a Placket
Of Roses.

X

Thus have you heard the Changes Rung ;
As much as may be said or sung ;
We must not be Talkers,
For fear the Night-Walkers
Do watch for our Words,
And wait with their Swords,
For our Noses.

This Droll being ended, and well approved, a hearty
Cup of Wine is set round the Table, in the mean time,

THE GROCERY TRADE

the Musick express their skill in playing divers new
sprightly Ayres, whils't another Musician with a cup
of Sack puts his Pipe in tune to sing this Medley, call'd

THE DISCONTENTED CAVALIER

THE MEDLEY. CONSISTING OF SIX SEVERAL TUNES

First Ayre

I'll never trust good Fellow more
For I was told
My shelves should shine with Gold
Bright as Tagus yellow shore ;
But now the Iron age is gone,
An age of Stone,
I fear is rolling on ;
Or a heavy Leaden one.
Old Loyalty is cramp'd with cold,
And laid aside like Tales too often told
Or not regarded because 'tis old :
Our Trumpet's turn'd into a shalm,
But yet our wounds have neither Tent nor Balm,
We Freeze in Fire, Drown in a Calm.

Second Ayre

The City now
And Country too
Cry out to the Court they have nothing to do ;
The Stage and Stews
Our Gallants use,
And most of our Gentiles are turn'd into Jews ;
And when Justice turns player,
We may despair
Of ever having an end on't :
We have laid all our trade by,
Ne're were worse made by

APPENDIX V

Presbyter or Independant.

It ne're was so bad,

We ne're were more mad ;

But we must needs fall

When the Dammees get all :

From a King killing Saint,

Patch, Powder, and Paint,

Where e're they be,

Libera nos Domine.

Third Ayre

The World is but a moral Cheat,

And every vice is good that's great :

Religion is a nose of Wax,

Which Politicks use to raise a Tax :

Lust is no sin in

Fair white Linnen ;

Or a fair Cambrick Frock on :

Yet for Pride

Jane Shore died,

Some say, with never a Smock on ;

The Polititian

Calls Ambition

By the name of Honour ;

But fortune

Spoils our tune,

A Mischief light upon her.

Fourth Ayre

Hypocrisie and fair pretences convinces

The City, the Country and Camp ;

And all must pass currant, I'm sure on't,

That comes from the Mint with a politick stamp.

THE GROCERY TRADE

The Sects we have,
And Gallants brave,
Do the self-same Tenet hold ;
For both can turn the Gospel into Gold.
To yes and nay,
We were a prey ;
 But in this our latter fall,
 Your humble Servant, Madam, cheats us all.

Fifth Ayre

Little we find
In the turn of the wind
 For consolation ;
Times are well changed, but Crimes are the same ;
Nothing is right to the minds that delight
 In Reformation ;
Pride and Ambition are Cocks of the Game.
He that can Gallant it in the French Rode,
Swear he is Valiant and dame A la mode,
 By Ladies Letter-case,
 Shall have a better place
 Than me or he
 That hath indur'd the Lode.
But still I hope that the vice of the Times
Will not be permanent, pardon my Rhimes,
 I'll do no person wrong
 With my Pen or my Tongue,
 Though I let Fly
 So high at lofty Crimes.

Sixth Ayre

Leave off thinking now,
And laugh a Little ;
Fall a drinking too,

APPENDIX V

And quaff a little.
Good Canary never
Did miscarry ever ;
Drink, or no good fellow will care for ye :
Wine will never prick our Popish Crochets,
Sack will never kick at Copes and Rotchets ;
He that hatcheth Treason
In a Merry season,
Is a fellow void of Love and Reason.
They that freely tipple, envy none that rise,
But are well contented,
And consented,
(Untormented)
To be truly
Out of the care, and free from that plague,
 which rides like a Hag
 The Wife.

Let us all be merry laugh, and change our chink ;
 Hold it, fill it,
 Swill it,
Drink it fair and do not spill it ;
 Take it,
 Shake it,
 Vive le Roy,
 We'l Trade,
 And Wade
 In no other Joy
 But Drink
 Then Drink.

This gave occasion for a Health to His Majesty,
which was cheerfully performed, whilst the Musick
play a well composed lively suit of Ayres, and make
ready for a third Song.

THE GROCERY TRADE

THE THIRD SONG

To the tune of Have at all

Oh ! who would fix his Eyes upon
These fading Joyes under the Sun ?
Alas, they are no sooner won,
But on a suddain all are gone.
Like Flint and Steel, that strike a show,
 'Tis as he cry'd
 Who lately dy'd
Touch and go.

II

Health, Strength and Beauty, Worth and Wit,
Wealth, Love and Honour, all may meet
Within one single person : yet
Be spoil'd with one unlucky hit :
 Experience did lately show
 That Greatness can-
 Not fix a man :
Touch and go.

III

Your Gardens large and Buildings fair
Are all but castles in the air :
Though some they say are so profuse
To turn a Town into a House,
Which they at last are forc'd to shun :
 Leave Friends and Wives,
 The Devil drives :
Touch and run.

APPENDIX V

IV

All Joys are like a gliding stream ;
Beauty is but a pleasing dream :
A Man his Mistress will prefer
Above his Soul ; no Heaven but her :
He night and day doth hourly woe ;
 But having got
 Wot yet what !
Touch and go.

V

Reality and true intent
Are turn'd into a complement ;
A person may preferment get
By playing of the Counterfeit :
But Time's true Touch-stone soon will show
 What is exprest
 Upon the test ;
Touch and go.

VI

The Gayest Gallants of our Age
Are become students of the Stage :
Oxford and Cambridge we lay by,
For Playhouse University.
Like Glow-worms in the night they shew,
 Whom when the Sun
 Doth peep upon,
Touch and go.

THE GROCERY TRADE

VII

Another, to express vain glory,
Cries dam-him ten times in one story ;
He Stares and Struts at such a rate
As if he'd break St. George's pate.
But when State-Stormy winds do blow
 From Drums and Guns
 Away he runs :
Touch and go.

VIII

There's nothing fixt under the Skyes :
London late fir'd, in ashes lyes :
Nor could Man's wisdom bring't about
To use a means to put it out :
It did to such a blazing grow,
 With London 'twas
 In five dayes space
But touch and go.

IX

It would require (more to rehearse)
A volumn rather than a verse,
To set down all the short delights
That do attend our daies and nights ;
Mens Honours make a daring show,
 But prove at large
 As French-men charge :
Touch and go.

APPENDIX V

A SONG

I am a lusty lively lad,
Now come to One and Twenty,
My Father left me all he had,
Both Gold and Silver plenty ;
Now He's in Grave, I will be Brave,
The Ladies shall adore me,
I'll Court and Kiss, what hurt's in this ?
My Dad did so before me.

My Father was a Thrifty Sir,
Till Soul and Body sundred,
Some say he was a Usurer,
For Thirty in the Hundred ;
He scrapt and scratcht, She pinch'd and
patch'd
That in Her Body bore me,
But I'll Flie, good cause why,
My Father was born before me.

My Daddy had his Duty done,
In getting so much Treasure,
I'll be as dutiful a Son,
For spending it in Pleasure :
Five Pound a Quart, shall chear my Heart,
Such Nectar will restore me ;
When Ladies call, I'll have at all,
My Father was born before me.

My Grandam liv'd at Washington,
My Grandsir delv'd in Ditches,
The Son of old John Trashington,
Whose Lanthorn Leathern Breeches

THE GROCERY TRADE

Cry'd, Whether go ye, Whether go ye ?
Though men do now adore me,
They ne're did see my Pedigree,
Nor who was born before me.

My Grandsir striv'd, and wiv'd and thriv'd,
Till he did Riches gather,
And when he had much Wealth Atchiev'd,
O ! then he got my Father :
Of happy Memory cry I,
That e're his Mother bore him,
I had not been worth one Penny,
Had I been born before him.

To Free-School, Cambridge and Grays-Inn
My Gray-Coat Grand Sir put him,
Till to forget he did begin,
The Leathern Breech that got him :
One dealt in Straw, t'other in Law,
The one did ditch and delve it,
My Father store of Satin wore,
My Grand Sire Beggars Velvet.

So I get Wealth, What care I if,
My Grand Sir were a Sawyer,
My Father prov'd to be Chief,
Subtle, and Learned Lawyer :
By Cooks Reports, and Tricks in Court
He did with Treasure store me,
That I may say, Heavens bless the
day,
My Father was born before me.

APPENDIX V

Some say of late, a Merchant that
Had gotten store of Riches,
In's Dining-Room hung up his Hat,
His Staff, and Leathern Breeches,
His Stockings garter'd up with Straws,
E're Providence did Store him,
His Son was Sheriff of London, 'cause,
His Father was born before him.

So many Blades that rant in Silk,
And put on Scarlet cloathing,
At first did spring from Butter-Milk
Their Ancestors worth nothing :
Old Adam and our Grandam Eve,
By Diggings and by Spinning,
Did to all Kings and Princes give,
Their Radical beginning.

My Father to get my Estate,
Though selfish yet was slavish,
I'll spend it at another rate,
And be as lewdly Lavish :
From Mad-men, Fools and Knaves, he did
Litigiously receive it ;
If so he did, Justice forbid
But I to such should leave it.

At Playhouses and Tennis Court,
I'll prove a Noble Fellow,
I'll court my Doxies to the Sport,
Of, O brave Punchinello !
I'll Dice and Drab, and Drink and Stab,
No Hector shall out roar me ;
If Teachers tell me Tales of Hell,
My Father is gone before me.

THE GROCERY TRADE

Dinner being ended, and night approaching, his Lordship being attended by a retinue of his own Company, takes Coach and is conducted to Barber Chirurgeons-Hall, without that troublesome Night ceremony which hath been formerly, when St. Pauls Church was standing; When his Lordship is housed, those that attend on him depart with order and conveniency; and the Triumphs and silk-works are (by the care of the Masters Artificers) lodged for that night in Blackwell Hall, till the next day following; and then they are to be conveyed to Grocers-Hall.

Thus to their Honours, the Company of Grocers have with unspeakable Love and Joyfulness, thrice been at the charge of such Triumphs since the happy restauration of His Majesty.

To close up all, the Artists and Artificers employed in this dayes Triumph (each of them deserving ample Commendations) bid you good Night.

POSTSCRIPT

It was so late e're we had information, that we must refer one of the most material things to the narrow limits of a Postscript, which is, That the Kings Most Excellent Majesty is pleased to illustrate these Triumphs with his most Gracious Presence, and to dine at Guild-Hall.

APPENDIX VI

AN EARLY TEA ADVERTISEMENT, CIRCA 1660

AN EXACT DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWTH, QUALITY, AND VERTUES OF THE LEAF TEA. BY THOMAS GARWAY, IN EXCHANGE ALLEY, NEAR THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, IN LONDON, TOBACCONIST, AND SELLER AND RETAILER OF TEA AND COFFEE

Tea is generally brought from China, and groweth there upon little shrubs and bushes, the branches whereof are well garnished with white flowers, that are yellow within, of the bigness and fashion of sweet-briar, but in smell unlike, bearing thin green leaves, about the bigness of Scordium, myrtle, or Sumack; and is judged to be a kind of Sumack. This plant hath been reported to grow wild only, but doth not; for they plant it in their gardens, about four foot distance, and it groweth about four foot high; and of the seeds they maintain and increase their stock. Of all places in China, this plant groweth in greatest plenty in the province of Xemsi, latitude 36 degrees, bordering upon the west of the province of Houam and in the province of Namking, near the city of Lucheu, there is likewise of the growth of Sinam, Cochin China, the island de Ladrones, and Japan, and is called "Cha." Of this famous leaf there are divers sorts (though all of one

THE GROCERY TRADE

shape), some much better than others, the upper leaves excelling the other in fineness, a property almost in all plants; which leaves they gather every day, and drying them in the shade or in iron pans, over a gentle fire, till the humidity be exhausted, then put close up in leaden pots, preserve them for their drink Tea, which is used at meals, and upon all visits and entertainments in private families, and in the palaces of grandees: and it is averred by a Padre of Macao, native of Japan, that the best Tea ought not to be gathered but by virgins, who are destined to this work, and such "*quae non dum menstrua patiuntur: gemmae quae nascuntur in summitate arbuscula servantur Imperatori, ac praecipuis ejus dynastis: quae autem infra nascuntur ad latera, populo conceduntur.*" The said leaf is of such known virtues, that those very nations, so famous for antiquity, knowledge, and wisdom, do frequently sell it among themselves for twice its weight in silver; and the high estimation of the drink made therewith hath occasioned an inquiry into the nature thereof amongst the most intelligent persons of all nations that have travelled in those parts, who, after exact tryal and experience by all wayes imaginable, have commended it to the use of their several countries, for its vertues and operations, particularly as followeth: viz.—

The quality is moderately hot, proper for winter and summer. The drink is declared to be most wholesome, preserving in perfect health until extreme old age.

The particular vertues are these:

It maketh the body active and lusty.

It helpeth the head-ache, giddiness and heaviness thereof.

It removeth the obstructions of the spleen,

APPENDIX VI

It is very good against the stone and gravel, cleaning the kidneys and ureters, being drank with virgin's honey, instead of sugar.

It taketh away the difficulty of breathing, opening obstructions.

It is good against tipitude, distillations, and cleareth the sight.

It removeth lassitude, and cleanseth and purifieth acrid humours, and a hot liver.

It is good against crudities, strengthening the weakness of the ventricle, or stomach, causing good appetite and digestion, and particularly for men of corpulent body, and such as are great eaters of flesh.

It vanquisheth heavy dreams, easeth the frame, and strengtheneth the memory.

It overcometh superfluous sleep, and prevents sleepiness in general, a draught of the infusion being taken; so, that, without trouble, whole nights may be spent in study without hurt to the body, in that it moderately heateth and bindeth the mouth of the stomach.

It prevents and cures agues, surfets, and fevers, by infusing a fit quantity of the leaf, thereby provoking a most gentle vomit and breathing of the pores, and hath been given with wonderful success.

It (being prepared and drank with milk and water) strengtheneth the inward parts, and prevents consumption; and powerfully assuageth the pains of the bowels, or griping of the guts, and looseness.

It is good for colds, dropsys, and scurvys, if properly infused, purging the body by sweat and urine, and expelleth infection.

It driveth away all pains of the collick proceeding from wind, and purgeth safely the gall.

THE GROCERY TRADE

And that the virtues and excellencies of this leaf and drink are many and great, is evident and manifest by the high esteem and use of it (especially of late years) among the physicians and knowing men of France, Italy, Holland, and other parts of Christendom; and in England it hath been sold in the leaf for six pounds, and sometimes for ten pounds the pound weight: and in respect of its former scarceness and dearness, it hath been only used as a regalia in high treatments and entertainments, and presents made thereof to princes and grandees till the year 1657. The said Thomas Garway did purchase a quantity thereof, and first publicly sold the said tea in leaf and drink, made according to the directions of the most knowing merchants and travellers in those eastern countries; and upon knowledge and experience of the said Garway's continued care and industry in obtaining the best tea, and making drink thereof, very many noblemen, physicians, and merchants, and gentlemen of quality, have ever since sent to him for the said leaf, and daily resort to his house in Exchange Alley aforesaid, to drink the drink thereof.

And that ignorance nor envy may have no ground or power to report, or suggest that which is here asserted, of the virtues and excellencies of this precious leaf and drink, hath more of design than truth, for the justification of himself, and the satisfaction of others, he hath here enumerated several authors, who in their learned works have expressly written and asserted the same and much more in honour of this noble leaf and drink, viz. Bontius, Riccius, Jarrius, Almeyda, Horstius, Alvarez Semeda, Martinivus in his *China Atlas*, and Alexander de Rhodes in his *Voyage and Missions*, in a large discourse of the ordering of this leaf, and the

406

APPENDIX VI

many virtues of the drink ; printed at Paris, 1653, part x. chap. 13.

And to the end that all persons of eminency and quality, gentlemen and others, who have occasion for tea in leaf, may be supplied, these are to give notice, that the said Thomas hath tea to sell from sixteen to fifty shillings in the pound.

And whereas several persons using coffee, have been accustomed to buy the powder thereof by the pound, or in lesser or greater quantities, which if kept two days loseth much of its first goodness ; and forasmuch as the berries, after drying, may be kept, if need require, some months ; therefore, all persons living remote from London, and have occasion for the said powder, are advised to buy the said coffee-berries ready dried, which being in a mortar beaten, or in a mill ground to powder, as they use it, will so often be brisk, fresh, and fragrant, and in its full vigour and strength, as if new prepared, to the great satisfaction of the drinkers thereof, as hath been experienced by many in this city, which community, of the best sort, the said Thomas Garway hath alwayes ready dried, to be sold at reasonable rates.

All such as will have coffee in powder, or the berries undried, or chocolata, may, by the said Thomas Garway, be supplied to their content ; with such further instructions and perfect directions how to use tea, coffee, and chocolata, as is or may be needful, and so as to be effacious and operative according to their several virtues.

[There is no date to this handbill, but as Hanway ascertained that the price was 60s. per lb. in 1660, it must have been distributed about that period.]

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In compiling the present work recourse has been had to a large number of books and documents. The records in the archives of the Corporation of London and of the Worshipful Company of Grocers have been freely placed at my disposal, and much information thereby acquired. I have also drawn upon the Privy Council Registers, the State Papers (Domestic), the Harleian Miscellany, the Historical MSS. Commission Report, and numerous documents and standard histories.

For the benefit of my readers I append a list of the books I have consulted and which bear directly upon the grocery trade and retail trading in this country.

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THE GROCERY TRADE

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INDEX OF PERSONS

- ALLEN, THOS., Lord Mayor (1659), his notable pageant, i. 239
- Anson, Bart., Sir William, first president Institute of Certificated Grocers, ii. 345, 346
- Antrobus, Green and Russell, ii. 150
- Ashburner, Leonard, his advertisements, ii. 45
- Atkinson, Thos., first warden Grocers' Company of Newcastle, ii. 135
- Aubery, Andrew, M.P. for the City, i. 17; Lord Mayor, his conduct whilst, i. 36, 73; member of Grocers' Company, i. 39; will of, i. 37
- Avebury, Lord, ii. 339
- BARHAM AND MARRIAGE, ii. 147
- Barny, F. T., proposes to reduce sugar duty, ii. 205
- Barratt, W., "King's Grocer," on the quality of sugar (1615), 156
- Barrow, Ald. R. C., president of Grocers' Federation, ii. 264
- Barto Valle and Co. (1805), ii. 150
- Beckenham, Richard, founds Guildford Grammar School, i. 179
- Beeching, Mr. C. L. T., ii. 267
- Berry, Thomas, his fortune, ii. 333
- William, his fortune, ii. 333
- Besant, Sir Walter, on the social origin of traders, i. 95
- Birdwood, Sir George, on trade and empire, i. 191
- Bilsland, Sir William, Bart., Lord Provost of Glasgow, ii. 133
- Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine, ii. 346
- Blackwell, Thomas (1855), evidence before Commons' Committee on adulteration, ii. 214
- Blackwell, Thomas F., his fortune, ii. 326, 333, 338
- T. Geoffrey, Mr., ii. 338
- Blakiston, Matthew, his advertisement, ii. 46
- Bokeril, Andrew, Mayor of London, i. 17, 29, 73; gives his name to Bucklersbury, i. 73
- Bowles, Sir George, Lord Mayor (1617), i. 170; M.P. for the City and Sheriff, i. 277; his assertion of principle, i. 277; his epitaph, i. 278
- Bowman, Mr. W. P., gift of a £500 prize, ii. 340, 344, 346
- Bratt, Mr. Peter, member of first committee Grocers' Federation, ii. 263
- Brembre, Nicholas, confirms ordinances of the Cheesemongers, i. 20; Mayor of London (1373), i. 43; warden of the Fraternity of St. Anthony (1369-70), i. 43; aids the Government financially, i. 46, 47; allies himself with the Court party, i. 48
- Brewer, Prof., on the friars and trade, i. 5
- Briggs, Augustine, at the siege of Tyrone, i. 280; Alderman and Sheriff of Norwich, i. 281; Mayor and M.P. for Norwich, i. 281; will of, and monument to, i. 281
- Brokesbank, W., warden of the Grocers' Company, i. 111; protests against a monopoly in starch, i. 111; takes John Sadler

INDEX OF PERSONS

- apprentice, i. 112; inquires, as warden, into the price of sugar, i. 121
 Brookes, Mr. Charles, ii. 267
 Browne, Sir Stephen, Fuller's notice of, i. 77; his relief of a famine i. 78; founds a noble family, i. 78
 Bubbers, Mr. Ernest, ii. 267
 Budgett, H. H. and S. (Bristol), ii. 154,
 Samuel, ii. 154, 192, 326
 Burbidge, Richard, Mr., ii. 240
 Bureford, John de, M.P. for City (1328), i. 17
 Burgess and Co., Ltd., John, founded 1760, ii. 97; their advertisement in No. 1 of the *Times*, ii. 98; history of, ii. 121
 Burgis, Chas. Richard, his fortune, ii. 334
 Burleigh, Lord, i. 121
 Burn, Andrew, indicted for trading without a licence, ii. 87

CADBURY BROS., LTD., ii. 217; progress of firm, ii. 276; the Bourneville model village, ii. 278; gift for technical education, ii. 340
 Mr. George, ii. 279, 326
 Cadman, Robert, ii. 346
 Canning, Sir Thos., his origin, i. 79; Lord Mayor, i. 79
 William, Mayor of Bristol, i. 79
 Cannon, Mr. John, ii. 346
 Capper, Joseph, apprenticed in London, ii. 122; an eccentric character, ii. 123
 Carpenter, Roger, an early pepperer, his will, i. 35
 Carr and Co., ii. 286
 Catherine of Portugal, and tea, ii. 2
 Chaplin, Mr. E. W., ii. 346
 Chaptal, M., his part in the production of beet-sugar, ii. 84
 Charles I. compels the East India Company to sell their pepper, ii. 33
 Charles II. welcomed by the City, i. 238; becomes a member of the Grocers' Company, i. 239; his opinion of trade, ii. 40
 Chaucer (poet), on the friars' trading, i. 5
 Chausser, Nicholas (grocer), i. 39
 Chicheley, Henry (Archbishop), and the "rag pie," i. 74
 Robert, his origin, i. 74; his civic honours and charitable bequests, i. 75
 William, grocer, i. 76
 Chisholm, Sir Samuel, Bart., ii. 133
 Chivers and Son, ii. 216
 Churchman, Walter, his patent engine, ii. 28; his chocolate, ii. 94, 97
 Cibber, Annie, her advertisement, ii. 45
 Clarke, Nickolls and Coombs, Ltd., ii. 217
 Coats, Robert, petitions for a licence to trade, ii. 87
 Colbourne, Mr. R. J., ii. 346
 Cole, Thomas (Badminton), ii. 153
 Colman, J. and J., Ltd., foundation of, ii. 157
 Sir Jeremiah, Bart., ii. 157
 Cowell, Mr. Geo., ii. 267
 Cowley, Abraham (poet), son of a grocer, 276
 Craig, Bailie, starts the Daughters' Fund, Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 131
 Craven, Lord (son of a grocer), ii. 40
 Cromwell, Oliver, and the Dutch, ii. 34
 Crosby, Sir John, warden of the Grocers' Company, 81; his civic honours and services to the Crown, 81; builds Crosby Hall, 81; his epitaph, 82
 Crosfield, Jos., and Sons, Ltd., ii. 284
 Mr. A., M.P., ii. 346
 Crosse and Blackwell, Ltd., ii. 211; their factories, ii. 212; attitude on the adulteration question, ii. 213
 Cullen, Mr. W. H., ii. 255
 Cushen, Mr. Henry, treasurer of Grocers' Federation, ii. 264

DALES, MR. CHAS., ii. 267
 Dalglish, Robert, M.P. for Glasgow, ii. 133
 Davidson, William, Mr., treasurer of Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 133

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Davison, Abraham, ii. 120
 Mainplaise, ii. 112
 Monkhouse, ii. 120
 Thomas, ii. 116; his funeral expenses, ii. 117
- Davison, Newman and Co., foundation of, i. 284; persons connected with, i. 284; history of, ii. 110; serve the London Hospital since 1754, ii. 111; list of articles sold by, ii. 114
- Day and Martin, Ltd., ii. 166; origin of firm, ii. 169
- Defoe, Daniel, his "Complete English Tradesman" quoted, ii. 39
- Denham, John, his bequest, ii. 335
- Dickens, Charles, his early work in a blacking factory, ii. 166
- Dickinson, Marsh, Lord Mayor, ii. 122
- Dimsdale, Sir Joseph, Bart., ii. 316
- Dolseby, Simon and Thomas, of the Grocers' Company, their civic honours, 39
- Duckworth and Co. (Liverpool) ii. 188
 Sir James, M.P., ii. 326; his career, ii. 332
- Duddles, Mr. G. G., ii. 344
- Dudeney, Mr. A. M., ii. 346
- Duncan, Dr., on the use of hot liquors, ii. 15
- Dunn, John, clerk to Grocers' Company of Paisley, ii. 137
- Durham, Bishop of, licence to a grocer to trade, i. 148; first co-operative bishop, ii. 220
- Dyson, R. S., bequests, ii. 337
- EAMEE, SIR JOHN (Alderman), ii. 122
- Eagleton and Co., grocers in London, ii. 89; their advertisements, ii. 89, 90, 91
- Eaton, Mr. H. E., ii. 267
- Edge, Alderman Knowles, ii. 346
 Joseph, ii. 339
- Edward I. encourages the gilds, 15
- Edward II. grants a charter to London, 10; requires membership of a gild, 15; his loan from the Lombards, 20
- Edward III., his interest in the Companies, 29
- Edward VII., member of the Grocers' Company, i. 33; visit to Rugby School, i. 185
- Ellis, Sir Joseph, Mayor of Newcastle, ii. 331, 326
- Elizabeth, Queen, Lawrence Sheriff upholds her honour, i. 181
- Epps, Jas. and Co., Ltd., founded, ii. 292
- FAIRRIE, Mr., champions sugar duties, ii. 209
- Felgate, Mr. S. W., ii. 267
- Finn, Fred, and Co., Ltd., Canterbury, ii. 156
- Fitzstephen (A.D. 1150), on localisation of trade, i. 9
- Folsham, Benedict de, M.P. for City, ii. 17
- Fortnum and Mason, Ltd., ii. 151, 175
- Founders of Grocers' Company, London, i. 34
- Foxe, "Book of Martyrs" quoted, i. 181
- Friendship, Mr. Lewis (Bournemouth), opposes co-operation, ii. 233
- Fromow, Jno., cashier in Travers', ii. 110
- Fry, John, ii. 28
 Joseph, founder of J. S. Fry and Sons, Ltd., ii. 28; his origin and early career, ii. 100; his sons, ii. 102
 Joseph Storrs, his public spirit, ii. 332
- Fry, J. S., and Sons, Ltd. (Bristol), foundation and rise of, ii. 101, 217
- Fry, Vaughan, and Co. (Bristol), their advertisement of Churchman's chocolate, ii. 94
- Frye, Alderman F. C., ii. 241, 345, 346
- GAMMANWAY v. JAMES, ii. 298
- Garraway, Geo., ii. 195
- Garway, Thos., his pamphlet (1660), ii. 11
- George I., law of, against adulteration of tea, ii. 26
- George III., Act of, against adulteration of tea, ii. 61

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Gibson, Sir J. P., M.P., ii. 326
 Gifford, William, ii. 30
 Giles, A. J., Mr., on co-operators and income-tax, ii. 229; first secretary of Grocers' Federation, ii. 263
 Gisors, John (Mayor of London), i. 17, 29
 Gladstone, W. E., and duties on groceries, ii. 181; his great Budget, 1860, ii. 202; reduces tea duty, ii. 203; gratitude of trade to, ii. 204; reduces duty on sugar, ii. 207, 210; letter on "cutting" of sugar, ii. 215; on City Companies and on technical education, ii. 313
 Glyn-Jones, Mr., "the P.A.T.A.," ii. 302
 Gordon, Mr. M. W., ii. 267
 Grafton, Richard, i. 274
 Grantham, Mr. A. G., ii. 156; Mayor of Southwark, ii. 255
 Grantham, John de, i. 35, 61
 William, i. 30, 34, 35
 Gray, Mr. P. W., ii. 267
 Grose, Francis, his essay in "The Olio" (1792) quoted, ii. 76

HALL, WILLIAM, his purchases of Travers', ii. 109
 Halliwell, Lawrence, i. 33
 Hammond, John, i. 36
 Hanson, Alderman Francis S., ii. 146
 Benjamin, ii. 146
 J. and B., ii. 146
 Samuel and Son, in 1805, ii. 146
 Sir Reginald, Bart., ii. 146, 326
 Edward, ii. 146
 Hanway, his opinion of tea, ii. 56
 Hardham, grocer (Chichester 1800), ii. 156
 Harvey, inventor of the sauce of that name, ii. 149
 Harrod, Charles Digby, ii. 240
 Henry Charles, ii. 240
 Hassall, Dr. A. H., and adulteration, ii. 184, 186
 Hartley, Sir William, starts as a grocer, ii. 285; first makes jam, ii. 285; his success, ii. 286; his benefactions, ii. 286, 326
 Hearn, Mr. G. F., and the trade concerts, ii. 338

 Henry III., i. 59
 Hickling, Robert, an old invoice of, ii. 51
 Hickson's (the Strand), their rhyming advertisements, ii. 148
 Hill, Sir Thomas, i. 80
 Hinton, Mr. Amos, ii. 326
 Hogarth, designs business cards, ii. 88
 Hook, Theodore, his verse on Twining's, ii. 56
 Hooke, Mr. John, ii. 346
 Hooker, Sir William, i. 279
 Howard, John, prison-reformer, apprenticed to a grocer, ii. 100
 Hume (quoted), i. 123
 Huntley and Palmers, Ltd., foundation of, ii. 288; exhibition awards, ii. 288; their factories ii. 289
 Hurry, J., grocer (Bridport), ii. 140

IRWIN, JOHN, and SON (Liverpool), ii. 241, 242
 Mr. W. E., ii. 267

JAMES I., and pepper, i. 205; relations with the grocers and apothecaries, i. 222; grants apothecaries a charter, i. 224
 Jefferson, Geo., petitions for licence to trade, ii. 87
 Johnson, Benj. (Hereford), his tea advertisement, ii. 97

KEBLE, SIR HENRY, i. 276
 Keen and Sons, ii. 147
 Keen, Robinson and Co., ii. 170
 Keiller and Son, enterprise of, ii. 215, 218
 Kellitt, Mr. John, ii. 255
 Kendall, Mr. James, ii. 259
 Kibble, Mr. William, ii. 240
 Kidd, Caleb, petitions for a licence to trade, ii. 87
 King, Lord Chancellor, i. 273
 Knight, John Burgess, ii. 333
 Knolles, Sir Thomas, i. 74

LANGLAND, on the friars and trade, i. 5
 Latimer, Bishop (quoted), i. 178
 Lawne, Gideon de, i. 221, 223

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Laxton, Sir William, founds school at Oundle, i. 180; Lord Mayor in 1544, i. 282; his funeral, i. 282
- Lever, Mr. W. H., M.P., suggests a federation, ii. 260; invents "Sunlight Soap," ii. 281; litigation, ii. 282; some reminiscences, ii. 282, 326; his philanthropy, ii. 329
- Leverett and Frye, Ltd., ii. 241
- Leyre, William de, M.P. for City, i. 17
- Lipton, Sir Thomas, Bart., member Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 133; commences business, ii. 245; growth of his business, ii. 246; turns business into a limited company, ii. 247; munificence, ii. 250, 326
- Lodge, Sir Thomas, i. 101
- Lusk, Sir Andrew (Lord Mayor), his charitable bequests, ii. 336
- Lydgate, on London cries, i. 25
- MACHIN, MR. STANLEY, ii. 329, 338
- Macphie, Mr. John, opposes co-operative movement, ii. 232
- Marchant, J. (Hereford), grocer, ii. 140
- Margraff, discovers sugar in beets (1747), ii. 83
- Mark, Sir John, fortune and benefactions, ii. 326, 334
- Martineau, Mr. William, ii. 346
- Matthews, Mr. C. P., ii. 346
- Melia, Daniel and Co. (Manchester), ii. 241, 242
- Meynelle, Thos., case of, i. 92
- Middleton, Sir Thomas, i. 167, 278
- Miller, Robert, on the butter trade in 1853, ii. 189
- Moore, Sir John (1861), i. 172, 285; his speech quoted, i. 286
- Moore, Sir John Voce (Lord Mayor), ii. 326
- Motteux, Peter, leaves literature for trade, ii. 20; mentioned in *Spectator*, ii. 21
- Mowat, Mr. Robert, opposes co-operative movement, ii. 233
- Munro, John (of Elgin), his charitable bequests, ii. 336
- NAPOLEON I. encourages production of beet-sugar, ii. 84
- Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Milk Co., gift of a prize for technical students, ii. 344
- Newman, Abraham, protests against sale of bad tea by East India Company, ii. 73; his fortune, ii. 99
- Nicholls, Mr. G. J., ii. 346
- Nixey, W. G., ii. 172
- Normanton, Thos., his widow's shop robbed, i. 93
- Northampton, John, i. 43, 48
- Notte, John, i. 39
- ORCHARD, ROBERT, i. 268
- Ovington, Rev. J., his pamphlet on the use of tea, ii. 11
- Owen, Robert, pioneer co-operator, ii. 221
- Owner, Edward (Yarmouth), i. 186
- Oxford, Earl of, dispute with Lord Craven, ii. 40
- PASTON, MARGARET, her order for groceries, i. 54
- Margery, her marriage i. 96
- Paterson, Walter, establishes Bank of England, ii. 37
- Peek Bros. and Winch, founded, ii. 327
- Peek Freen and Co., foundation of, ii. 289
- Peek, Richard, early adventures, ii. 327
- Sir Henry W., Bart., M.P., ii. 327
- Sir W. H., Bart., M.P., ii. 326
- Peel, Sir Robert, against reduction of sugar duty, ii. 206
- Pepys, Samuel, his diary quoted i. 279; ii. 2
- Mrs., on the use of tea, ii. 6
- Pett, Mr. W. F., on technical education for assistants, ii. 342
- Philpot, John (Lord Mayor), equips a fleet, i. 48
- John (d. 1876) his bequest, ii. 336
- Pink, Sir William, ii. 263, 326
- Pitt, William, and the Commutation Bill, ii. 64; Chancellor of

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Exchequer, ii. 75; his tariff, ii. 80; his duty on sugar, ii. 81
 Plumptre, Richard, invoice of, ii. 52
- RAE, MR. W. R., on co-operative rivalry, ii. 235
 Randall, Mrs., her "Ginseng" tea, ii. 93.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, his opinion on the carrying-trade, ii. 35
 Ravenhill on the Grocers' Company in 1689, i. 189
 Rawlinson, Daniel, i. 294; ii. 110
 Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor (1706), i. 294; ii. 110, 116, 120
 Walter (Alderman), ii. 116
 Rawson, Mr. W., ii. 346
 Reckitt & Sons, Ltd., founded, ii. 293
 Reed, Leicester, ii. 338
 Rees, Enoch, his bequests, ii. 337
 Reilly, Thomas, grocer of Dublin, his advertisement, ii. 93
 Reynolds, Richard, ii. 100
 Richard II., i. 47, 52
 Ridgway and Co., ii. 186
 Roberts, Lewis, his "Merchant's Map of Commerce," quoted, ii. 31
 Rogers, Mr. J. Innes, on "Protection," ii. 197; his career, ii. 330
 Thorold, on the fair, i. 2; on the sale of cloves, i. 188; on a bill for spices (fourteenth century), i. 192
 Rondeau, Thomas, quotations of, in 1752, ii. 52
 Roots, Mr. A. J., ii. 267
 Rowntree and Co., Ltd., ii. 217, 292
 John (Scarborough) 1800, ii. 155
 Rule, Mr. Thomas, ii. 267
 Ruskin, John, opens tea-shop, ii. 243
- SADLER, JOHN, i. 111, 114
 Savile, Henry (1678), on the use of tea, ii. 14
 Scott, Mr. Thos., ii. 367
 Seaverns, Mr. J. H., M.P., ii. 346
 Seddon, J. A., Mr., M.P., a grocer's assistant member, ii. 268
 Settle, Elkanah, his "Epistle Dedicatory," i. 287
 Sevenoake, Sir William, Lord Mayor (1418), i. 76; his correction of an offender, i. 92
 Shakespeare, groceries mentioned by, i. 112
 Sharpe, Lancelot, Master of Grocers Company, ii. 147
 Sharwood, Mr. J. A., ii. 346
 Sharwood and Co., Ltd., J. A., ii. 302
 Shelley, Geo., member first committee of Grocers' Federation, ii. 262
 Sheriff Lawrence (1541), mentioned in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," i. 181; founder of Rugby School, i. 184
 Shirley, Samuel, ii. 334
 Skeggs, Edward, his quarrel with the Lord Mayor, i. 102
 Slaughter, Mr. W. Capel, on a possible grocery trust, ii. 254
 Slaughter, W. J. (Oxford), ii. 337
 Smith, William, his public life, ii. 103; M.P. for Norwich, ii. 104
 Steele, Mr. A., ii. 267
 Stoddart, George, grocer's manager, i. 101; his journeys, i. 103, 106; his accounts, i. 106
 Stokes, Francis, ii. 152
 Robert (Salisbury), ii. 152; goods stocked (1837), ii. 175
 Stow, quoted, i. 39, 120, 277
 Strange, Mr. C. W., president Grocers' Federation, ii. 265
 Stutter, R. B., cheesemonger, his rhyming advertisement, ii. 94
 Sunstead, Daniel, ii. 112
 Swanston, John, first president Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 124, 132
- TATE, poet laureate (1710) on the use of tea, ii. 21
 Sir Henry, Bart., his business, ii. 272; adoption of improvements, ii. 273; litigation, ii. 274; his munificence, ii. 337
 Sir William, Bart., gift for technical education, ii. 340
 Templeton, John, president Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 133
 Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* quoted, ii. 139, 293

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Thwaites, Mr. (Davison, Newman and Co.), his will, ii. 120
- Tonlinson, Mr. R. A., ii. 267; at inauguration of Institute of Certificated Grocers, ii. 345, 346
- Tooby, Mr. J. R., ii. 267, 346
- Travers, Benjamin, ii. 104
- James Lindsay, ii. 104
- John, ii. 104
- John Ingram, ii. 326
- Joseph, protests against sale of bad tea by East India Company, ii. 73; birth, ii. 104
- Smith, ii. 209
- Travers, Joseph and Sons, Ltd., beginnings of, ii. 102; changes in the name of the firm, ii. 104; record of the house quoted, ii. 105; their terms and methods, ii. 107; an invoice of (1787), ii. 108; travellers, ii. 142
- Trim, Aaron and John, the "polite grocers of the Strand," ii. 149
- Tucker, Ambrose (Christchurch), ii. 154; prices in 1802, ii. 155
- Tupman, Mr. W. F., winner of £500 prize, ii. 344
- Twining, Daniel, ii. 22; indentures of, ii. 23, 54
- Mr. E. W., ii. 346
- John, ii. 57
- Rev. Thomas, ii. 57
- Richard, ii. 23; education, ii. 54; leader of tea-trade, ii. 55; his literary gifts, ii. 55; director of East India Company, ii. 56; his sons, ii. 57; on adulteration of tea, ii. 59; consulted by William Pitt, ii. 64; on the history of tea trade practices, ii. 70
- Richard (the younger), chairman of bylaws committee, East India Company, ii. 58
- Richard (d. 1906), his fortune and bequests, ii. 335
- Thomas, founder of the business, ii. 22
- Twining's in 1805, ii. 148
- USHER, ROBERT, first warden of Grocers' Company of Newcastle, ii. 135
- VALENTINE, Messrs. (Ludlow), ii. 152
- Van den Bergh's, Ltd., ii. 294
- WALKER, CHAS., first treasurer Glasgow Grocers' Company, ii. 125
- Waller, Edmund, poet, quoted, ii. 3
- Walpole, Sir Robert, his tea legislation, ii. 50
- Walworth, Mayor of London, i. 48, 73
- Wat Tyler, his insurrection, i. 48
- Warren, blacking maker, ii. 166; his rhyming advertisements, ii. 167
- Wesley, John, on the use of tea, ii. 29
- William III., Act of, ii. 48
- William and Mary, Act of, ii. 7
- Williams, Mr. John, ii. 255, 326; pioneer of technical education, ii. 342; gift for the same, ii. 344, 346
- Wood, James, grocer, establishes bank at Gloucester, ii. 37
- Woodcock, Mr. G. R., ii. 346
- "Worldsend, Mr. Saccharine," ii. 179

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

ADULTERATION: of tea, ii. 26; laws against, ii. 26, 27, 59; increase in adulteration of tea, ii. 59; how tea was adulterated, ii. 59; in the early nineteenth century, ii. 180; the *Lancet* Sanitary Commission, ii. 185; select Committee on, ii. 185, 193; effects of its inquiry, ii. 214

Advertisements of Grocers: curious trade cards, i. 161; ii. 88; newspaper paragraphs, &c., ii. 45, 89, 90, 91, 93, 97, 98, 106, 296; in rhyme, ii. 93, 148, 149, 167, 299, 300; posters and bills, ii. 160, 297, 298; price-lists, ii. 114, 175, 301; various novel modes of, ii. 246, 247, 281, 304; amusing litigation, ii. 298; present-giving with tea, &c., ii. 302; on tram-tickets, ii. 304

American specialties sold by grocer, ii. 76

Antony, St., Fraternity of, i. 31; i. 41

Antwerp, i. 98, 105.

Apothecaries: supervised by Grocers' Company (1617), i. 54, 220; agitate for a separate Company, i. 221; obtain a charter, i. 224; James I. their champion, i. 225; petition of grocers and some apothecaries against the charter, i. 227; apothecaries triumph, i. 229; their Hall, i. 230; the right to sell drugs, i. 239

Appleby Grammar School, its founder, i. 187

Apprentices: under the craft-guilds, i. 15; Stow's description

of their dress (fourteenth century), i. 24; rules of the pepperers regarding, i. 32; compulsory apprenticeship in the middle ages and antics of apprentices, i. 86; Elizabethan law of apprentices, i. 117, 132; soap-makers' apprentices, i. 131; dispute regarding an apprentice referred to the Grocers' Company, i. 154; treatment of apprentices during the plague, i. 246; apprentices' position and prospects at the Restoration, i. 253; indenture of Daniel Twining (1727), ii. 23; abolition of apprenticeship laws, ii. 136, 158; in London, &c., ii. 161, 256

BADMINTON, ancient business at, ii. 153

Bank of England, established 1694, ii. 37

Barbary merchants, i. 121

Benevolent Fund, Grocers' Assistants', ii. 338

Society, Grocers' and Tea-Dealers' Foundation, ii. 194; present position of, ii. 195

Bequests and wills of grocers: Aubrey, Andrew, i. 37; Beckenham, Richard, i. 179; Berry, Thomas, ii. 333; Berry, William, ii. 333; Blackwell, Thomas Francis, ii. 333; Briggs, Augustine, i. 281; Browne, Sir Stephen, i. 77; Burgis, Charles Richard, ii. 334; Capper, Joseph, ii. 123; Carpenter, Roger, i. 35; Chichely,

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Robert, i. 75; Crosby, Sir John, i. 81; Denham, John, ii. 335; Dyson, R. S., ii. 337; Grantham, John de, i. 35; Grantham, William de, i. 34; Hammond, John, i. 36; Hill, Sir Thomas, i. 80; Keble, Sir Henry, i. 276; Knight, John Burgess, ii. 333; Knolles, Sir Thomas, i. 74; Laxton, Sir William, i. 180; Lusk, Sir Andrew, ii. 336; Mark, Sir John, ii. 334; Middleton, Sir Thomas, i. 279; Moore, Sir John, i. 287; Munro, John, ii. 336; Newman, Abraham, ii. 99; Owner, Edward, i. 186; Philpot, John, ii. 336; Rees, Enoch, ii. 337; Sevenoke, Sir William, i. 76; Sheriff, Lawrence, i. 184; Shirley, Samuel, ii. 334; Slaughter, W. J., ii. 337; Tate, Sir Henry, ii. 337; Taylor, Sir William, i. 80; Thwaites, Mr., ii. 120; Twining, Richard, ii. 335
- Biscuits: origin of grocers' trade in, ii. 286; first made by machinery, ii. 287; prices in 1857, ii. 288; developments in manufacture of, ii. 288
- Blacking balls, ii. 166
Invention of, ii. 169
Makers, in 1837, ii. 168
- "Bovril," ii. 293
- "Bowman" prize shop, the, ii. 340, 344
- Bristol: a centre of trade in early England, i. 6, 10; exclusive trade at, i. 11; in the Tudor period, i. 98; the Merchant Venturers' Company of, i. 137; the Cannings and, i. 79; ancient business at, ii. 154
- Bucklersbury: the Grocers' Company settles at, i. 40; a street of grocers, 62; the King's Beam kept at, 70; origin of the name, 73; "in simple time," 114
- Budget The (1860), ii. 202
- Burial expenses of a grocer (1749), ii. 117
- Butter: regulation concerning sale of in the City, i. 55; taxed (1787), ii. 80; kinds sold in 1837, ii. 163; adulteration of, ii. 188; "Epping butter," ii. 190; quantity sold in 1908, ii. 323, 324
- CANNED fruits, English, ii. 216
- Canterbury: right to trade in, i. 10; early gild of grocers at, i. 17; grocers at, in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, i. 88; ancient business at, ii. 156
- Cheapside: in the year 1200, 10; traders in, in the fourteenth century, 24; in the nineteenth century, ii. 147
- Cheese, quantity imported in 1908, ii. 325
- Cheesemonger, the, in 1837, ii. 164
- Cheesemongers' Guild, i. ordinances of the, 20
- Chester: "Pepper Street," i. 10; right to trade at, 11; "unfree" traders at, 12
- Chichester. ancient business at, ii. 156
- Chicory: first use of, ii. 187; its influence on the use of coffee, ii. 183; duty first imposed on, 1860, ii. 203
- Chocolate: referred to in "Rugge's Diurnal" (1658), ii. 2; special duties imposed (1660), ii. 3; advertised in Kingdon's *Intelligencer* (1662), ii. 4; advertised on token (1662), ii. 5; new duties imposed (1689), ii. 8; early medical attacks on, ii. 11; Dr. Duncan on the abuse of (1706), ii. 15; the grocer takes up the sale of, ii. 18; early advertisements and prices of (1710), ii. 19; Walter Churchman's patent engine for making (1728), ii. 28; Fry's Chocolate, ii. 28; sold generally (1764), ii. 29; lists of grocers selling Churchman's chocolate (1764), ii. 94; influence of cheap sugar on its manufacture, ii. 217
- Christmas gifts forbidden, i. 77
- Christchurch, ancient business at, ii. 154
- Cloves, English and Dutch rivalry and, 199

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Cocoa: introduced (1656), ii. 28; how sold in 1702, ii. 28; adulteration of, ii. 186; improvements in manufacture, ii. 276; "Cadbury's Essence," ii. 277; Epps's Cocoa, ii. 292; "Elect" Cocoa, ii. 292
- Cocoa-nuts, duty on (1695), ii. 48
- Coffee: referred to in "Rugge's Diurnal" (1658), ii. 2; special duties imposed (1660), ii. 3; advertised in Kingdon's *Intelligencer* (1662), ii. 4; advertised on token (1662), ii. 5; new duties imposed (1689), ii. 8; early medical attacks on, ii. 11; Dr. Duncan on the abuse of (1796), ii. 15; grocer takes up the sale of, ii. 18; early advertisements and prices of (1710) ii. 19; rise in popularity (1725) ii. 28; duty on (1690-1695), ii. 48; taxation (1728-1795), ii. 80; quotations of Messrs. Travers at beginning of nineteenth century, ii. 106; adulteration of, ii. 180; adulteration of (1851), ii. 187; quantity imported in 1908, ii. 325
- Colchester, traders at, 1305, i. 7
- Colwall School, founded by a grocer, i. 187
- Commercial Travellers, ii. 107, 179
- Common Council, the: elected from the trades of London, 43; dispute about elections to, 41; grocers elected to, 44
- Confectionery and cheap sugar, ii. 218
- Co-operative Movement, the, earliest attempts, ii. 220; definition of co-operation by the Co-operative Congress, ii. 221; early "stores," ii. 222; Rochdale pioneers, ii. 222, 229; Parliamentary return *re* stores (1862), ii. 224; origin of Civil Service Stores, ii. 224; progress of, ii. 225; how to start a society, ii. 226; the "divi," ii. 227; the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, ii. 229; position of movement (1907), ii. 230; wholesale co-operation, ii. 231; opposition to, ii. 232
- "Cutting" of sugar (1750), ii. 43; (1837) ii. 177; of tea, ii. 68
- Commutation Act, the, ii. 64
- Court, the, and the grocers, 121
- Crosby Hall, origin and description of, 81
- Crystal Palace, grocers' outing at, ii. 305
- "C.S.S.A." the, origin and progress of, ii. 224; state of, in 1899, ii. 225;
- Currants: licence to trade in, i. 123; the Levant Company on the regulation of the trade in, i. 193; taxed, ii. 80; reduction of duty on, in 1860, ii. 202
- DARLINGTON, restrictions on trade at, i. 148; Bishop of Durham's licence to a grocer of, i. 148
- Department Stores, Harrod's, ii. 240
- Devizes, the Companies of, i. 138; ordinances, i. 138
- Dorchester, the five Companies of, i. 138
- "D.P.D.," ii. 192
- Drugs, the grocer's right to sell, i. 240
- Druggists, sell tea, coffee, &c. (1750), ii. 46
- Durham, Bishop of, grants a licence to trade, i. 148
- Dutch, the, and the spice trade, i. 198; the Dutch carrying-trade and Cromwell, ii. 34
- "EARTHENWARE Shop," the, ii. 44; sells tea and other grocery wares, ii. 45
- Eastcheap, A.D. 1200, i. 10; ii. 146; centre of grocery world, ii. 137
- East India Company, the Dutch, i. 199
- East India Company, the English: foundation and capital, i. 199; first members, i. 199; original grocer members, i. 199; first voyages, i. 200; directions to its officers, i. 200; pepper, i. 205; garbling, i. 211; profits, i. 218; possessions in the East, i. 218; earliest importations of tea (1667-1668), i. 6; articles traded in (1638) ii. 31; tribute to their fair dealing, ii. 32; sell Charles I.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

their stock of pepper (1640), ii. 33 ;
Cromwell grants a new charter to,
(1657), ii. 35 ; number of ships
and kinds of goods imported
(1670), ii. 36 ; investors in, ii. 37 ;
the sales of tea, ii. 45 ; its
monopoly in the tea trade (1721),
ii. 54, 59 ; the Company and the
Commutation Act, ii. 66 ; dispute
with tea-dealers, ii. 73 ; beginning
of the end, ii. 158 ; agitation
against, ii. 159 ; Parliament
abolishes its trading privileges
(1833), ii. 159 ; its care for purity
of tea, ii. 181

East India House, ii. 159

Edinburgh, i. 10

Education, grocers and, i. 177

Technical, in grocery trade, ii.
342

Eggs : number imported in 1908,
ii. 325

FAIR, the, i. 2, 59

Fire of London, the, i. 245

"Forestalling" i. 23

Fortune, a grocer's, ii. 99

Free Trade, the grocer and, ii. 197,
206, 212, 238

French Company, the, articles
traded in (1638), ii. 32

"Fripperers," the, i. 25, 27

Funeral of Grocer (1566), i. 282

GABBLING, compulsory, i. 65, 152, 211

Garden cities and the trade :
Bournville, ii. 278 ; Port Sun-
light, ii. 282

"Ginseng" tea, ii. 93

"Gladstonian" grocers, ii. 219

Gladstonian Tea Company, Ltd.,
ii. 243

Government regulates price of
pepper, i. 156

Government's regulation of trade,
i. 132

"Grand Concern of England"
quoted, i. 247

"Grocer" (the name) : earliest use
of, i. 17 ; appears in Company's
records, i. 43 ; origin of, i. 50 ;
extended use of, i. 50 ; as defined
by Grocers' Company, ii. 309

Grocer, the, first issue of, ii. 236 ;
objects of, ii. 237

Grocer, a valiant, i. 37

Grocer post-master, an early, i. 262

Groceries : prices of, time of Henry
VIII., i. 119 ; in 1577, i. 120 ;
in 1587, i. 122 ; in 1742, ii. 52 ;
in 1787, ii. 91, 106 ; in 1802,
ii. 155 ; consumption of, in 1845,
and in 1908, ii. 199 ; abolition
and reduction of duties on, in
1860, ii. 203 ; list of, sold by
Davison, Newman and Co. (1786),
ii. 114 ; sold in 1800, ii. 141 ;
quantities sold in 1908, ii. 323

Grocers, knighted on the field, i. 80,
81 ; and philanthropy, ii. 194,
251, 338 ; position, &c., in 1837,
ii. 162 ; and public life, i. 17, 38,
43, 46, 116, 231 ; ii. 116 ; number
of, in 1901, ii. 322 ; and education,
ii. 195, 340 ; wholesale, number in
1837, ii. 165 ; manufacturers, in
1837, ii. 170, 172 ; and taxation,
(1649), ii. 47 ; (1689), ii. 47 ; (1702),
ii. 47 ; some modern noteworthy,
ii. 326 *et seq.* ; social standing of,
in mediæval period, i. 94 ; in 1673,
i. 247 ; and smuggled tea, ii. 67 ;
credit given by, i. 89 ; life of
modern, ii. 320 ; petition to
Commons against, i. 42 ; articles
dealt in, i. 51 ; his trade still
fettered (1700), ii. 38 ; clothing
of the grocer and his wife (1726),
i. 41 ; articles dealt in about 1750,
ii. 42 ; number of, in London
(1837), ii. 161 ; the early
Victorian, ii. 174 ; the modern,
ii. 255

Grocers' apprentices, i. 88, 154,
252 ; ii. 42, 45, 161, 256 ;
journeymen, ii. 44, 161, 256 ;
assistants, ii. 161 ; their pay in
London, ii. 162, 256, 266, 268 ;
managers, ii. 256

Grocers' Assistants' Association :
ii. 265 ; early attempt to found a
(1864), ii. 266 ; foundation of
N.A.G.A., ii. 266 ; leaders of the,
ii. 267 ; Joseph Edge, ii. 339

Grocers' Associations : first estab-
lished at Manchester, ii. 259 ;

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- objects of, ii. 259; at Birmingham, ii. 259; Federation of Grocers' Associations suggested at Bristol, ii. 260; furthered in London, ii. 261; Mr. W. H. Lever on, ii. 261; foundation of, ii. 263; first committee, ii. 263; first conference, ii. 263; first general purposes committee, ii. 264; international conference (1908), ii. 265
- Grocers' College proposed, ii. 318
- Grocers' Company of Glasgow, ii. 214; regulations of, ii. 126; progress of, ii. 129; prominent members of, ii. 132
- Grocers' Company of Newcastle, ii. 133; ordinances of, ii. 134
- Grocers' Company of Norwich, i. 139
- Grocers' Company of Paisley, ii. 137; present condition of, ii. 137
- Grocers, the Worshipful Company of: founded, i. 31; second annual meeting, i. 39; wives of members, i. 39; at Bucklersbury, i. 40; new ordinances framed, i. 45; they elect searchers, i. 47; progress of, i. 63; garbling, i. 65, 67; Grocers' Hall founded, i. 66; incorporation, i. 66; appointed official garblers, i. 67; obtain management of King's Beam, i. 70; ordinances in English, i. 71; and the Reformation, i. 115; and the defence of the country, i. 116; opposes monopolies, i. 123; controls the trade, i. 57, 63, 91, 150, 244; appoint official searcher i. 153; and the sugar refiners, i. 158; and Oundle School, i. 180; renewal of charters, i. 219, 240; and the apothecaries, i. 220; petitions the Commons, i. 227; its public duties and contributions to national defence, i. 231; its stores of corn, i. 234; Cromwell and the charter, i. 237; assists to welcome Charles II., i. 238; and the right to sell drugs, i. 240; and the writ *quo warranto*, i. 241; new bylaws, i. 243; the last charter granted, i. 245; petition to Parliament re hawkers, i. 252; Bank of England first housed in their Hall (1694), ii. 37; severance of connection with trade, ii. 86; decline of their powers of trade supervision, i. 179; five hundredth anniversary, ii. 195; present position of, ii. 306; former customs, ii. 308; definition of a member of, ii. 309; charter of 1690, ii. 309; annual revenue (1882), ii. 311; property in the City, ii. 311, 312; their schools, ii. 314; charitable works, ii. 315; illustrious members, ii. 315; a hint to the Company, ii. 318
- Grocers' Gazette*, the, founded, ii. 269
- Grocers' Hall: founded, i. 66; how used, i. 150; destroyed by fire, i. 246; first home of the Bank of England, ii. 37
- Grocers' Journal*, the: founded, ii. 269
- Guildford Grammar School, i. 179
- Guild of: Cheesemongers, i. 20; Pepperers, London, i. 17; Spicers, Newcastle, i. 16, 137
- Guilds, the early, i. 14, 58
- HAHNEMANN Hospital, Liverpool, ii. 337
- Hams, York, price of (1739), ii. 52
- "Harleian Miscellany," quoted, i. 247
- "Harrington's Halfpence," i. 256
- "Harvey's" Sauce, ii. 149
- Hereford, i. 11
- Old-established business at, ii. 140
- Home and Colonial Stores, the origin of, ii. 250; growth and extensions, ii. 251; present position, ii. 252; methods of business, ii. 252
- Hours of business (1837), ii. 177
- INDIAN Empire, i. 189
- Institute of Certificated Grocers, ii. 341; foundation of, ii. 345; inaugural conference and dinner, ii. 346
- International Stores, the present position of, ii. 253

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Inventions, and their effect on the trade, ii. 144

JAM and Marmalade, ii. 211; in the Channel Isles, ii. 215, 216, 285
Journeyman, i. 11, 85; ii. 162

KENDAL, i. 147

King's Beam, the, i. 57; management entrusted to Grocers' Company, i. 70

'King's Grocer,' the, i. 156

King's Grocer's House, i. 181

Lancet, the, and adulteration, ii. 185, 214

Lard, Adulteration of, ii. 191

"Lemco," ii. 293

Levant Company, the, i. 192; imports coffee (1650), ii. 33

Lever Bros. Ltd., foundation and growth of, ii. 283

"Lipton, Ltd.": foundation, ii. 245; in London, 1890, ii. 247; a limited company, ii. 247; scenes at the flotation of, ii. 248; aristocratic shareholders in, ii. 248; extension of, ii. 249; apprenticeship scheme, ii. 257

Livery Companies, Royal Commission, ii. 317

"Living-in," ii. 112, 140, 177

Lombards, the (1345), i. 20

London Hospital, the grocery account of, ii. 111; subscription to, ii. 328

Lord Mayor, grocers who were, i. 17, 43, 72, 101, 239, 283; ii. 146, 170, 327, 316

Ludlow, ancient business at, ii. 152

MACCLESFIELD, i. 14

Margarine, ii. 294

Market: legal conditions of, i. 6; clerk of, i. 133; sales in forbidden, i. 145; clerk of, i. 133; tea sold in the, ii. 239

"Mercer," origin of the word, i. 5

Merchant Trading Companies, the, i. 188

Mayors, grocers in the provinces, i. 283

Maypole Dairy Co. Ltd., ii. 253

Merchant Trading Companies, i. 188
Mincing Lane, ii. 146; first tea sale in, ii. 159

Mineral oil, introduction of, ii. 171

Monopolies, i. 123; in currants, i. 123; in starch, i. 124; in soap, i. 128

Multiple-shop firms: foundation of, ii. 241, 245, 251; rumours of amalgamation, ii. 253; failure, ii. 255

Mustard, the Colmans and, ii. 157;

"Durhams" ii. 157; Adulteration of, ii. 191

NAVIGATION Act (1651), ii. 34

Newcastle, i. 16, 137; Merchant Adventurers' Company of, ii. 87

Norwich, i. 10, 11, 82, 138; Grocers' Company of, i. 138; ordinances, i. 142; tokens, i. 257

Nottingham, i. 10, 89

OILMAN, the, ii. 148; in 1837, ii. 164, 171

Oundle School, i. 180

PAGEANTS, Grocers': Norwich, i. 163; London, i. 166, 170, 172, 239, 284, 287; ii. 316

Paisley Grocers' Company, ii. 137

Parliament and price of food, i. 54; grocers in, ii. 17

Paston family, the, i. 54, 96

Pedlar, the, i. 4

Pepper: price of (1380), i. 53; price regulated by Parliament (1411), i. 56; importance of trade in, i. 189; the Dutch and pepper (1595), i. 198; the King, the East India Company and pepper, i. 205; the same in 1640, ii. 33; the duty reduced 1722, ii. 49; duty in 1723, ii. 50; price of (1742), ii. 51; adulteration of and prices in early nineteenth century, ii. 181; adulteration of (1800 to 1850), ii. 192

Pepperers, the, i. 15; ordinances of (1316), i. 18; fraternity of (1345), i. 27; ordinances (1345) i. 31

Pepys' Diary quoted, i. 279

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- 'P.D.," ii. 192
 Physicians and grocers, the, i. 240
 Pickles and sauces, ii. 292
 Pillory, the, i. 57, 153
 Pipe Rolls, traders mentioned in, i. 8
 Plague, the Great, i. 245
 Porters, grocers', their charges, i. 26; duties, i. 27; bequest to, i. 36
 Portuguese and the spice trade, i. 197
 Postmaster, a grocer, i. 262
 Post, the, and business, i. 100; ii. 142
 Proprietary articles sold by the grocer, ii. 94, 142, 175
 Proprietary Articles Trade Association, ii. 302

RAFFEMEN, i. 143
 Reading: Victuallers' Company, of, i. 9; Mercers' and Drapers, Company of, i. 9; Shoemakers Row, i. 10
 "Riders," or travellers, ii. 107, 143
 Roads, improvement in, and effect on the trade, ii. 143
 "Rochdale Pioneers," the, ii. 222, 229
 Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, ii. 229
 Rugby School, founded by a grocer, i. 181
 Ruskin's Tea Shop, ii. 243
 Russian Company, the, articles traded in (1638), ii. 32

SALISBURY, ancient business at, ii. 152
 Scarborough: ancient business at, ii. 155
 Shop, the evolution of the: in early England, i. 8; rents of, in 1310, i. 25; mediæval period, i. 60; Tudor period, i. 99; taxed (1785), ii. 80; "Burgess's" ii. 121; in 1800, ii. 139; number of retail shops in London (1837), ii. 160
 Signs, i. 99; ii. 52, 110
 Smithfield Market, i. 7
 "Smouch," ii. 60

 Soap, i. 128; modern methods of sale, ii. 280
 Soapmakers' Company, i. 130
 Soper's Lane, i. 18; chief resort of grocers (1310), i. 25; origin of name, i. 62
 Spices, i. 15, 51, 90; duties on (1704-1709), ii. 48; in 1723, ii. 50; prices in 1742, ii. 51
 Spicers, the, i. 15; oath of the New-castle i. 16; name becomes obsolete, i. 50
 Starch, introduction of, i. 124; monopoly in (1587), i. 125
 Starchmakers, Company of, i. 126
 Statute of Apprentices, i. 117
 Strand, the, grocers in 1805, ii. 147
 Sugar: introduction of, i. 53; sugar-refining established (1544), i. 121; bad quality supplied to Queen Elizabeth, i. 121; monopoly petitioned for (1596), i. 128; sugar-refining in 1616, i. 155; in 1633, i. 160; used with tea, ii. 14, 16; sold at a loss (1750), ii. 43; taxation of (1689), ii. 47; consumption of, 170, ii. 47; prices of, in 1742, ii. 51, 52; duty on (1703-1747), ii. 81; duties from (1747-1803), ii. 82; effect of taxation on consumption, ii. 81; clerk to the Grocers' Company makes the sugar return, ii. 83; beet-sugar, 1747, ii. 83; first beet-sugar factory built, 1788, ii. 84; fluctuations of price, 1748-1799, ii. 85; the wars and prices, ii. 105; quotations at end of eighteenth century by Messrs. Travers, ii. 106; sugar at Davison, Newman and Co.'s (1797), ii. 116; how packed in 1837, ii. 172; profits on, in 1837, ii. 177; duties in 1860, ii. 203; duties in 1836 and in 1841, ii. 205; opposition to reduction of duties, ii. 205, 208; duties and consumption (1844-1860), ii. 206; duties in 1864, ii. 210; effect of cheap sugar on the trade, ii. 210; total abolition of duties, 1874, ii. 215; duties re-imposed, 1901, ii. 218; evolution of pack-

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

ages, &c., ii. 271; cube-sugar and the firm of Tate, ii. 272; improvements in manufacture, ii. 273; "Burnet v. Tate," ii. 274; the Martineaus and sugar, ii. 275; imports of, in 1908, ii. 324

Sugar loaves, i. 122, 160

Sugar-refiners: early refiners, i. 121, 155, 245; ii. 137; oppose reduction of duties, ii. 208; number in London in 1840, ii. 211

TABLE-JELLIES, ii. 212

Tariff, the, (1723), ii. 49; Pitt's (1787), ii. 80; in 1860, ii. 202

Tate Gallery, the, ii. 337

Tea: imported by Dutch (1606), ii. i; mentioned in "Rugge's Diurnal" as sold in England (1658), ii. 2; mentioned by Pepys (1660), ii. 2; sung by Waller (1662), ii. 3; special duties imposed on, 1660, ii. 3; where first drunk, ii. 3; advertised in Kingdon's *Intelligencer* (1662), ii. 4; advertised on token (1662), ii. 5; first brewed in private houses (1667), ii. 6; East India Company's first importation (1667-1668), ii. 6; new duties imposed (1689), ii. 7; kinds of tea imported in 1689, ii. 9; packages in (1689), ii. 10; early medical attacks on, ii. 11; Garway's pamphlet (1660), ii. 11; prices in 1660, ii. 11; Rev. I. Ovington on, ii. 11; sugar used with, ii. 14; Henry Savile's letter on (1678), ii. 14; Dr. Duncan on the abuse of (1706), ii. 15; universal use of (1706), ii. 16; hinders consumption of beer, ii. 17; importation of (1700-1710), and in 1721, ii. 181; the grocer takes up the sale of, ii. 18; earliest advertisements and prices of 1710, ii. 19; references in the *Spectator* (1711), ii. 20; Twining's founded (1710), ii. 22; "Whipping Tom" pamphlet (1722), ii. 25; popular use of (1722), ii. 26; adulteration of (1725), ii. 26; John Wesley on (1748), ii. 29;

amusing experience of William Gifford, ii. 30; taxation of (1720), ii. 48; new duty and system of bonding introduced, ii. 49; taxation (1745), ii. 50; Richard Twining champions retail trade in 1785, ii. 55; (1793), ii. 56; home consumption, duty and prices (1728), ii. 58; in 1760, ii. 58 adulteration of by "Smouch," &c., ii. 60; Act against adulteration (1777), ii. 61; smuggling of ii. 62; its evil effects, ii. 63; Commutation Act, ii. 64; blending in 1727 and in 1785, ii. 71; threatened incursion of "50 patriotic gentlemen," ii. 72; quotations of Messrs. Travers, (1787-1807), ii. 106; stock at Davison, Newman and Co.'s (1797), with prices, ii. 115; East India Company loses exclusive, privilege to import, ii. 159; first tea-sale in Mincing Lane (1833), ii. 159; "free-trade" tea: meaning of term, ii. 160; Indian tea, introduction of, ii. 176; adulteration of, early nineteenth century, ii. 181; a flagrant case, ii. 183; raw materials of adulteration of, ii. 184; consumption in 1833, ii. 201; in 1852, ii. 201; duties and consumption in 1860, ii. 203; reception by the trade, ii. 204; duty in 1863, ii. 208; Hawkers of tea, ii. 239; present-giving with, ii. 302; modern advertising of cheap tea, ii. 303; imports in 1908, ii. 324

Tea-dealers, retail, number of, in 1784, ii. 67; to be licensed (1780) ii. 80, 141

Technical education for grocers: origin of movement, ii. 342; N.A.G.A. and, ii. 344; development of, ii. 343

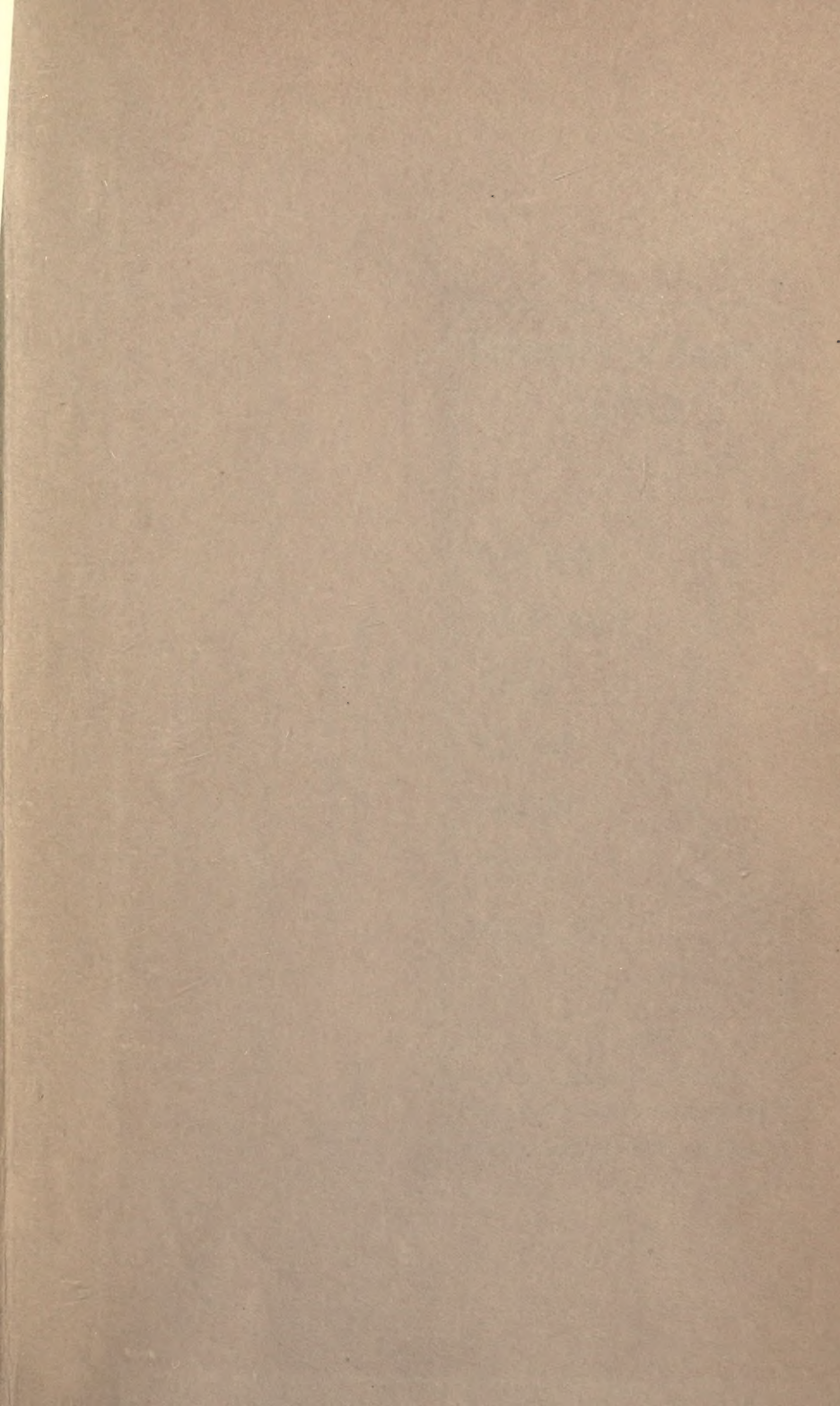
Times, the, Burgess's advertisement in the first number, ii. 98

Tobacco: introduction of, i. 161; advertised on token (1662), ii. 5; early medical attacks on, ii. 11; taxation of (1689), ii. 47

Tokens: grocers', i. 254; grocers

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- arms on, i. 259; other devices on, i. 263, 270; of Robert Orchard, i. 268; abolition of, i. 271; inscription on, ii. 5
- Trade concerts, ii. 338
 - Cards, ii. 88
- Trade Press, ii. 236, 268, 269
- Trade, retail, earliest form of, i. 2; subdivisions of, i. 9; localising of, i. 9; restrictions, i. 135, i. 147
- Traders' Defence Association, the, ii. 232
- Tradesmen, Life of, in seventeenth century, i. 247; ii. 76; petitions Parliament, i. 251; visits to London, i. 252; analysis of numbers of in early nineteenth century, ii. 161
- Travellers, ii. 107, 142, 178; a typical example of (1839), ii. 179
- Treacle, i. 151
- Turkey Company, the, goods traded in, ii. 32
- UPHOLDERS' Company, The, ii. 117
- VICTORIAN grocer, the, ii. 174
- Victualling trades of London, i. 41, 46
- WARES of the grocer, i. 51, 53
- Welshmen, the, and the Cheese-mongers, i. 22
- Westminster fair (1256), the, i. 59
- Windsor, i. 147
- Winchester, i. 11
- Witney Grammar School, i. 187
- Women, admission to Grocers' Company, i. 39
- YARMOUTH, i. 186
- York, i. 16, 82, 137; Merchant Adventurers' Company of, ii. 87



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